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ALBANIA

Decree on Organization of Court System

21000006 Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian
No 5, Nov 87 pp 87-97

["Decree on the Court Organization of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania"]

[Text] On the Basis of Article 78 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has resolved:

Part I: Content, Foundations and Major Principles

Article 1: In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the people's courts are the organs which effect the rendering of justice.

The task of the people's courts is to defend the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the AWP, the rights and interests of citizens, and the socialist juridical system: to assist the building of socialism in the country according to the principle of self-reliance; and to struggle for the defense of socialist property and the strengthening of proletarian discipline at work.

They struggle for the prevention of penal acts and civil disagreements; they educate citizens in the spirit of respect for and implementation of socialist law.

Article 2: The courts, in their actions, are guided by the policy of the AWP and are founded on the ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism.

Article 3: In their actions, the courts are controlled by the principle of the class struggle.

Article 4: The courts are independent in their judgment of cases; they decide only on the basis of the law and their decision is given in the name of the people.

The decisions of the courts have the power of the law and their implementation is obligatory for the state organs, the economic and social organizations, civil servants and citizens.

Article 5: The courts judge in a collegial manner. Actions specified and provided by law may also be carried out by a judge.

Article 6: The courts implement the line of the masses, they are based strongly upon the masses, are subordinated to their control, and develop a constant struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

Judgment is made with the participation of assistant judges and in open court, except in cases where the law specifies otherwise.

In order to have closer relations with the masses, to exert the most educational influence possible upon them, to strengthen class vigilance in eliminating penal acts or other violations of the law, and to learn from the experience of the masses, the courts also judge in work centers, in villages or in other places where there is a collective.

Article 7: The judges and assistant judges of district courts are elected by the people in universal, equal, direct and secret balloting.

The judges and assistant judges of courts in the zones are elected by the people's councils of the districts, within the territory where they operate.

The judges and assistant judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the People's Assembly.

The number of judges and assistant judges of the Supreme Court, of courts in the districts and courts in the zones is determined by the presidium of the People's Assembly upon recommendation of the Chairman of the Supreme Court.

Article 8: The judges and assistant judges render accounts to the voters and to the appropriate people's councils.

The Supreme Court renders accounts to the People's Assembly and, between sessions, to its Presidium.

Article 9: The judge and the assistant judge may be removed from their duties only by decision of the electorate or the organ that elected them, when they are transferred, when they request it themselves for reasonable cause, or when they are given a penal sentence.

Article 10: the Albanian language is used in judgment. Persons who do not know Albanian may use their own language and speak with the aid of an interpreter.

Article 11: In the judgment of penal matters, the accused enjoys the right of defense, and in civil matters may have the assistance of legal advisors.

Part II: The Rendering of Justice (The Judgment)

Article 12: The court system in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is composed of courts in the villages, cities and city quarters, of courts in the districts, of courts in the zones, and of the Supreme Court.

Article 13: The courts of the villages, cities and city quarters judge penal cases of lesser danger to society, as well as civil cases as specified by law.

The courts of the villages, cities and city quarters are composed of assistant judges of the court of the district and of a number of social workers.

Article 14: The social workers of courts in the villages, cities and city quarters are elected for a three-year term by a meeting of the people by means of open ballot, and their number may not be less than five or more than ten for each court.

Article 15: The courts of the districts are the fundamental links in the judiciary system of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In the first place, they judge all penal and civil cases, except those which, by law, are left to the jurisdiction of the courts in the villages, cities and city quarters.

In addition, the courts of the districts examine grievances, protests and requests for reviews of the decisions of the courts in the villages, cities and city quarters.

The courts of the districts are composed of a chairman, deputy chairmen, judges and assistant judges. The chairman and deputy chairmen, at the suggestion of the chairman of the Supreme Court, are appointed by the people's council of the district where the court is located, from among the elected judges.

Article 16: Along with the courts of the districts, designated by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, a military collegium is created which is composed of military judges and military assistant judges.

The military collegium of the court of a district judges, first of all, penal acts committed by soldiers, as well as other penal acts which by law are left to its jurisdiction.

Article 17: The courts of the zones examine on the second level, grievances and protests against penal and civil decisions of the courts of the districts, as specified in the Codes of Penal and Civil Procedure.

The courts of the zones examine on the first level matters which are decided upon by the chairman of the Supreme Court, as well as matters of jurisdiction of the court of the district, whose decision has been invalidated for a second time.

The courts of the zones on the second level judge in councils composed of three judges or of three judges and two assistant judges.

The territorial jurisdiction of courts of the zones is designated by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, upon recommendation of the chairman of the Supreme Court.

The courts of the zones are composed of a chairman, deputy chairmen, judges and assistant judges. The chairman and deputy chairmen, upon recommendation of the chairman of the Supreme Court, are appointed by the people's councils of the districts under the jurisdiction of the court of the zone, from among the elected judges.

Article 18: The Supreme Court is the highest organ of justice in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The Supreme Court judges on the first level, important cases which come to the attention of its chairman from the courts of the districts, and on the second level, it examines grievances and protests against decisions by the courts of the districts and the courts of the zones, as specified in the Codes of Penal and Civil Procedure.

Article 19: The Supreme Court is composed of a chairman, deputy chairmen, judges and assistant judges.

The Supreme Court operates with the help of the Plenum and the Penal, Civil and Military Collegium.

Article 20: The Plenum of the Supreme Court is composed of a chairman, deputy chairmen and judges of the Supreme Court. Legal cadres of the apparatus of the Supreme Court are also called upon to participate in the Plenum.

Article 21: The duties of the Supreme Court are:

a) To examine requests for legal defense exercised by the chairman of the Supreme Court or the Attorney General against penal and civil decisions of the collegia of the Supreme Court.

b) To examine the general nature of judicial practice and judicial statistics, and to formulate instructions for the just and equal implementation of the law by the courts; to analyze the activities of the courts in the area of judgment and to standardize judicial practice.

c) To approve the composition of the collegia of the Supreme Court.

The Attorney General participates in the Plenum when requests for legal defense are examined and when instructions are formulated.

Article 22: The collegia of the Supreme Court are composed of judges of the Supreme Court.

The collegia examine, on the first level, cases of major importance, and, on the second level, cases specified by law and requests for legal defense in peremptory verdicts which have not been examined by them.

The chairman and deputy chairmen of the Supreme Court may preside over any collegium of the Supreme Court.

Article 23: The territorial boundaries of the activities of the courts, when they differ from the administrative division, are designated by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, upon recommendation of the chairman of the Supreme Court.

Article 24: The assistant judges participate actively in the examination and resolution of all cases and in the exercise of all duties of the court, assisting in linking the court with the masses and in strengthening the struggle against violations of the law, in mobilizing workers to eliminate the causes of such violations, and in the disseminating laws and judicial decisions.

Article 25: Assistant judges enjoy all the rights of judges in the exercise of their duties. Assistant judges are called upon to judge in the courts of the districts, in the courts of the zones, and in the Supreme Court, for fifteen days per year.

This term of service may be lengthened in order that the judgment of a case may be concluded with the participation of the same assistant judges.

Article 26: Judges and assistant judges continue to perform their duties after the expiration of the term for which they have been elected, until new elections are arranged.

When a judge's place remains vacant, the people's council of the district elects a new judge until new elections are arranged.

Article 27: By decision of the chairman of the Supreme Court, one of the judges of the Supreme Court may be appointed to judge on the first or second level, cases that pertain to a court of a district or a court of a zone.

The chairman of the Supreme Court may appoint one of the judges of a court of a zone to judge cases of courts of districts which are included in the appropriate zone.

Article 28: The judges of all courts and the assistant judges of the Supreme Court enjoy immunity.

They cannot be arrested or tried without the consent of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, except in cases where they commit an obvious and serious crime.

The assistant judges also enjoy immunity within the village, city or city quarter where they have been elected, and within the district or zone during the time that they perform their duties in the court of the district or in the court of the zone. Their immunity is withdrawn by the appropriate people's council.

Part III: Court Administration

Article 29: The Supreme Court, with the help of its apparatus, performs the following duties in the area of court administration:

- Manages and controls administrative activities of all courts, implementation of decisions, and the activities of offices of legal assistance.

- Disseminates court practice.

- Manages and controls scientific study and dissemination work.

- Manages and controls court statistics.

- Examines the evidence in sentences of peremptory decisions, according to a special regulation approved by the chairman of the Supreme Court.

- Sees to the training and advanced training of cadres.

- Generalizes propagates and disseminates progressive experience.

- Examines requests and grievances of citizens, in connection with the work of courts and offices of legal assistance.

- Compiles, implements and controls the budget and financial plan of courts.

- Issues a bulletin on court practice.

Article 30: In the courts of the districts, the administrative apparatus is managed by the chairman of the court. He accepts cases for judgment and distributes the work among the judges; he monitors the work of the secretary, the office for sentence implementation, and of the rest of the administrative apparatus; he manages the dissemination of court practice; he organizes and controls the performance of tasks in the area of preventing crime; he attends to the rendering of accounts by judges and assistant judges, and, in general, to the implementation of the line of the masses.

In the courts of the zones, the administrative apparatus is managed by the chairman of the court of the zone.

Part IV: The Office of Implementation of Sentences

Article 31: Penal decisions which include a sentence with a fine, re-education through work, and the obligation to pay compensation, as well as civil judgments and other executive claims specified by law, are implemented by the court executor.

The state organs, the economic and social organizations, civil servants and citizens are obliged to carry out the requests of the court executors.

The court executors perform their duties in association with the courts of districts and are subordinate to the chairman of the court of the district.

Part V: The Offices of Legal Assistance and the Notary's Office

Article 32: The offices of legal assistance are organs which give legal assistance to citizens, institutions, enterprises and social organizations.

Article 33: Legal assistance is given by means of advice, preparation of civil suits, requests for initiating penal cases, requests for appeals against court decisions as well as other grievance requests on the part of citizens. In addition, legal assistance is given during court examination of cases, in the manner provided by law.

Article 34: Certificates are issued and notary activities are performed in offices of legal assistance by legal advisors assigned to these duties.

When the legal advisor is absent or if there are legal obstacles, certificates are issued and notary duties are performed by another legal advisor and, where there are no such advisors, by a judge of the court of the district, who is appointed by the chairman of the Supreme Court.

Article 35: Outside the country, in cases stipulated in special provisions, certificates are issued and notary acts are performed by diplomatic or consular representatives of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 36: In villages and in cities where there are no offices of legal assistance, the chairman or the secretary of the people's council does the following:

- a) Issues proxies for acts before courts and other state institutions;
- b) Issues certificates for judicial activities in which someone is participating who is unable to sign the certificate himself and appoints another person to sign for him, if a notary's certificate is not required by law for this activity;
- c) Legalizes signatures on nonofficial certificates.

Article 37: The offices of legal assistance are established in every district and are subordinate to the Supreme Court.

Legal advisors are appointed to these offices, who are named and recalled by the chairman of the Supreme Court.

Article 38: Remuneration of work for various services performed by the offices of legal assistance and notary offices are designated on the basis of fees decided upon for this purpose by the Ministry of Finance in cooperation with the Supreme Court.

Article 39: Law no. 4406, dated 24.6.1968, "On the Court Organization of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," decree no. 5107, dated 30.10.1973, "On the Establishment of the Court Council in Courts of the Districts and Several Changes in the Jurisdictions of Courts," as well as every other provision which is in opposition to this decree, is abrogated.

Article 40: This decree is effective as of 1 January 1988.

Tirana, 20.11.1987

Decree no. 7174

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Secretary: Sihat Tozaj Chairman: Ramiz Alia

12249/12223

Law on Crop Protection Service

21000007 Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian
No 6, Dec 87 pp 124-129

["Law on Crop Protection Service"]

[Text] In order that work to protect crops from diseases, damage and weeds may be strengthened and in order to respond in a better manner to tasks involving the intensification of socialist agriculture so that there may be a continual increase in agricultural production,

On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution,

Upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers,

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Has resolved:

Part One: General Provisions

Article 1: The purpose of the crop protection service is to protect crops from diseases, damage and weeds, and is based on the active assistance of the working masses.

Article 2: The crop protection service is organized, managed and controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture; in districts, by the agricultural sections of the executive committees of the districts people's councils, by means of inspectorates of crop protection and their laboratories in agricultural stations.

In agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, the crop protection service accomplishes its aims through the crop protection specialist, an agronomist appointed to this duty, and through observers.

Article 3: The tasks of the crop protection service are:

- a) To monitor and control the plant health situation of crops and crop products and to maintain appropriate records.
- b) To plan and specify effective preventive measures to combat diseases, pests and weeds which have spread or those which may be introduced by means of crops and our own or imported crop products, as well as to control the practical implementation of these measures.

c) To organize a network for the purpose of prognosis and reporting.

d) To take further massive and profound measures for scientific-research work in the field of crop protection.

e) To make workers aware of the regulations regarding the use of pesticides in agriculture and to control the implementation of regulations to preserve and protect the health of people and livestock, as well as the environment, from the pollution of such pesticides.

f) To pursue the implementation of tasks which ensue from plant health agreements concluded with other countries.

Part Two: The Organization of the Crop Protection Service

Article 4: The Ministry of agriculture organizes work to determine the diseases, damage and weeds which affect crops and which are subject to crop quarantine, or those which present particular danger to the agricultural economy of the country, as well as to specify measures to defend against them measures which must be implemented by all agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, institutions, and citizens.

The central crop protection station determines the diseases and damage which affect crops and which are the object of prognosis and reporting for particular districts and zones, and devises appropriate methods for observation.

The crop protection laboratories in a district and the specialists and observers in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives organize and monitor the operation of the system of prognosis and reporting, and of the determination of parasites, in order to take the most effective measures to combat them in agricultural crops.

Article 5: The Central Crop Protection Station is responsible for informing the districts of manifestations of disease, damage and weeds, for beginning field observations, and for organizing combative measures; the crop protection laboratories of districts do the same for agricultural enterprises and cooperatives.

Article 6: When the managers of agricultural enterprises and cooperatives receive the information, they are obliged:

a) To organize field observations for every plot and, based upon their data, to begin immediate implementation of combative measures.

b) To organize the information on the situation, the observations made, and the measures implemented.

Article 7: In the event that on the territory of agricultural enterprises, and cooperatives, private yards, etc., there are signs of massive manifestations of disease, pests and dangerous weeds which require quarantine, the responsible manager, the state organs, institutions, social organizations, specialists and all citizens are obliged to inform - either directly or through the people's councils - the organs of the crop protection service, which will in turn, immediately inform the Ministry of Agriculture, the Central Crop Protection Station and the executive committees of peoples councils in neighboring districts; they will also determine the measures needed to limit and destroy the sources of infection.

Article 8: The costs of combating diseases, pests and weeds are borne by the operation itself and, in the case of private kitchen-gardens, by the citizens themselves, while the costs of combating diseases and pests which present particular danger are borne in all cases by the state, on the basis of criteria specified by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Finance.

Part Three: Crop Quarantine

Article 9: The import, export and passage in transit of crops and crop products take place in accordance with provisions specified in international plant health and trade agreements concluded with other countries, and their transport can be carried out only through plant health control border points specified by the Ministry of Agriculture in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Article 10: External quarantine service is performed by the appropriate inspectors at quarantine control border points.

All imported crops and crop products, their wrappings and means of transport are subject to quarantine control at border points. Their transport within the country is made only after they have been provided with the appropriate plant health document by the inspector at the quarantine control border point.

Crops and crop products which exhibit particularly serious infection with disease, pests and weeds are blocked at the border point and immediate notification is made to the Ministry of Agriculture, which has the right to forbid further importation or to specify measures for their restoration, when this is possible.

Article 11: Exported crops and crop products are checked and provided with the appropriate certificate by the crop protection inspector of the agricultural section of the executive committee of the people's council of the district.

Article 12: Crops and crop products (seeds, tubers, saplings, vine shoots, etc.) specified for planting or grafting, within or outside the district, can be distributed, sown or used for particular purposes after being checked and authorized by the organs of the crop protection service of the district.

If seeds and tubers are affected by disease, pests and weeds beyond the limits permitted in the appropriate standards, measures are taken for their restoration and, if this is not possible, they are passed up for consumption, while saplings and vine shoots are left in nurseries until the following year or else are destroyed if their restoration is not possible. In special cases, they may be permitted to be planted only with the approval of the Ministry of Agriculture, which also determines the measures that must be implemented.

Part Four: Final Provisions

Article 13: Violations of the provisions foreseen in articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12, if they do not constitute penal acts, constitute administrative infractions and are penalty by social reprimand or by a fine up to 500 leks by the inspectors of the crop protection service of the Ministry of agriculture and by the inspectors of the crop protection service in the agricultural sections of the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts.

An appeal may be made against a penalty within five days from the date of announcement of the decision or of its communication - respectively, to the minister of agriculture and the chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of the district, certificates of which are in brief form.

Article 14: Detailed regulations regarding the implementation of this law are determined by special decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 15: Decree no. 4757, dated 3.11.1970, "On the Crop Protection Service" is abrogated.

Article 16: This law is effective 15 days after publication in GAZETA ZYRTARE.

Tirana, 29.12.1987

Law no. 7188

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Sihat Tozaj

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Ramiz Alia

12249/12223

BULGARIA

Bulgarian-Soviet Discussions Held in Moscow

22000026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 88 p 5

[Summary] On 24 February 1988, Deputy Foreign Minister Lyuben Goisev and Dimitur Kostov, chief of the United Nations and Disarmament Department at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met with Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Vladimir Petrovskiy to discuss a wide range of international problems, including Soviet-American negotiations and the UN General Assembly's third special session on disarmament, which will convene on 31 May.

Ambassador to Romania Replaced

22000025 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 88 p 2

[Summary] The State Council has issued a decree releasing Boncho Penchev Mitev as ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania and appointing Tsvetan Dimitrov Nikolov as his successor.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, January 1988

23000052 East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 43 No 1, Jan 88 (signed to press 10 Dec 87) pp 2, 96

[Summary of article by Ernst Krabatsch, chief department manager in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; pp 4-8]

Historic Milestone Toward a Nuclear-Weapons-Free World

[Text] With reference to the outcome of the USSR-U.S. Washington summit, it is being shown that the meeting was a "prologue for a new phase" in international relations. Signing this treaty on the first real disarmament step must become a breakthrough toward further far-reaching disarmament steps. What chances are indicated, what obstacles have to be overcome? What tasks do the USSR and its allies face in the struggle to implement their disarmament and peace proposals?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lothar Bayer, department manager at the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 9-17]

Economic Growth in Theory and Practice

[Text] Strong and steady economic growth is required for the sociopolitical goals, the improvement of the material and cultural standard of living in our country. What results have thus far been achieved toward implementing

the economic strategy? Within the process of comprehensive intensification, how must the qualitative growth be made even more effective over the long haul? How does our socialist planned economy further a strong growth performance?

[Summary of article by Dr Harald Heilscher, director for R&D in the VEB Combine for Electronic Components, Teltow; pp 18-23]

Accelerating Research

[Text] The Teltow components combine has gained valuable experiences as to how top achievements can be attained in the scientific-technical area. What demands does this make for mastering increasingly intricate strategic work in view of the impressive speed of development and the increasing complexity of the processes? How does one organize research cooperation? What tasks have to be solved in order to be sure to master the transfer processes?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lothar Hummel, department manager at the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 24-29]

Advanced Training in the Combines

[Text] Increasingly, advanced training is becoming equal in importance to training in our society. What tasks arise for the combines in view of this? Experiences are being conveyed from various branches about how advanced training measures produce great effects with a minimum expenditure of time, take account of the knowledge and skills the working people already have, and encourage creative activity.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, research area chief at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism in the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 30-35]

Comprehensive Intensification Sets Higher Standards for Quality

[Text] Comprehensive intensification sets criteria for the quality of products and labor that must measure up to the international demands and top achievements. Part of that is that complex requirements for efficiency must be met, overall quality must be ensured and organized throughout the whole reproduction process, and consistent quality must be achieved. How do the combines and enterprises stand up to the new requirements?

[Summary of article by Fritz Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee, department chief of the SED Central Committee; pp 59-65]

Promoting Women—A High Demand for Our Cadre Work

[Text] Which higher demands result from the 11th party congress resolutions for cadre work? What must be done so that women fully exercise their equality on the labor

market, more of them being recruited and systematically prepared for management functions? Which experiences are worth generalizing and using to solve problems arising in it with success? Consequences resulting from it for the party organizations' political leadership activity.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter H. Feist, director of the Institute for Aesthetics and Art History at the GDR's Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the Art Academy; pp 66-69]

Art—An Event

[Text] The 10th GDR Art Exhibit opened in Dresden 3 months ago. It reveals the development of art work in the last 5 years. The article conveys impressions of the works exhibited and probes into the causes for our great public interest in contemporary art.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter Delitz, department chief at the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR; pp 70-75]

Scientific-Technical and Social Progress in the Confrontation Between Capital and Labor

[Text] Profit and power interests underlie the monopoly capitalist search for top positions in the scientific-technical area and its deceptive promise of "new opportunities in the world of labor." What are the effects and existential threats emanating from the scientific-technical revolution under the conditions of state monopoly? Are there real chances under those circumstances for giving social shape to scientific-technical progress? What is the position of working class organizations on that point?

[Summary of article by Dr Grigori Wodolasow, head of the department for world politics and international labor of the CPSU at the CPSU Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 76-85]

Communists in the World of New Realities

[Text] The article, reprinted from Moscow's KOMMUNIST journal, discusses new tactical and strategic ideas, which evolved from the realities of our age and were worked out in recent years by communist and workers parties. Some of the problems discussed are: the class struggle and the struggle for peace; contemporary capitalism and the communists' alternatives; and internationalism today.

5885/12223

POLAND

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup

2600002076 Warsaw: POLITYKA in Polish
No. 9, 27 Feb 88 p. 2

[Excerpts]

National News

The Council of State has examined information on the first Citizens' Consultation Conventions attached to the Voivodship National Councils. They were formed in 16 voivodships, the majority of which have already held from two to four meetings. The membership consists mostly of politically unaffiliated individuals (more than 53 percent), who belong neither to a party nor a partisan group. The conventions are modeled largely on the work of the Consultative Council of the Office of the Chairman of the Council of State. The Council of State expressed recognition for the work of the Conventions and gave especially high marks to their work in the Gdansk and Poznan Voivodships.

An evening at the Palace of Culture on the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army was the chief accent of the celebration of this anniversary.

J. Urban, minister and government spokesman, spoke about Poland's debt at his weekly press conference. According to data from the end of December it has reached \$39.2 billion or 40 percent of the national income and five times the amount of convertible-currency receipts from exports to capitalist countries. The indebtedness has grown from \$1 billion in 1971 to \$8.4 billion in 1975, and \$25.5 billion in 1981. It is estimated that during this entire period one-third of the credits were used for investment imports, one-third for raw-material and material imports (largely for the production of consumer goods), and one-third for the purchase of wheat, feed, and consumption goods. The total of the credits given to Poland in 1971-87 is \$47.5 billion, and total of our payments (capital and interest) is \$50.6 billion. In the difficult years of 1982-87 we received barely \$3.1 billion in credit, while payments were \$11.1 billion or \$8 billion more than the credits received. This is, as the spokesman emphasized, a sign of our determination to meet our debt obligations. The resolution of the problem will, however, require a longer period of time and cooperation with the creditor countries and the international financial institutions. The spokesman also commented on a letter from 30 intellectuals published, among other places, in PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI. "I am convinced that that letter is an expression of civic concern by the majority of the individuals who signed it. I get the impression, however, that in writing it the authors closed their eyes to the changes that are taking place in Poland." Minister Urban encouraged and asked the signatories of the letter "to participate in the real work of reforming public life."

Official sales prices for some raw materials and tariffs will increase according to an announcement by the Ministry of Finance, published in RZECZPOSPOLITA, (18 February 1988): coal, coke, crude oil, gas fuels by 55 percent, heating oil by 47 percent, electricity by 50 percent, iron and steel products by 41 percent, copper, silver, lead, aluminum by 50 percent, raw sheep wool and skins by 60 percent, transportation rates (freight) on the Polish State Railways by 45 percent and on the State Motor Transport by 35 percent.

The congress of the Religious Union of the Jewish Faith, which represents nearly 2,000 believers, discussed its activities and elected officers. Moses Finkelshten was again elected chairman of the central executive board.

One-fifth of the results of the laboratory work done by the ultra-modern Center for Diagnostic Medicine in Szczecin is not picked up by doctors even though they asked for it. And the work is very expensive (for using a tomograph, for instance, about 40,000 zloty) and access to the equipment is difficult (GŁOS SZCZECIŃSKI).

On the Left

The CPSU Central Committee held a plenum on the restructuring of secondary and higher education. "Is the introduction of non-traditional forms of economic or social life not a departure from socialism, a revision of marxist-leninist theory?" "Defenders" of marxism-leninism have already appeared, people lamenting socialism who think both are in danger," said Michail Gorbachev in his closing speech. The plenum relieved Boris Yeltsin, the former first secretary of the Moscow City Committee, of the function of candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The name of the former general-secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev has disappeared from the most recent edition of the history textbook for schools, as the recently MOLODOY KOMMUNIST noted, and it indignantly wondered how it is possible to shove into the shadows a leader who governed the USSR for 18 years. The name of Nikita Khrushchev absent from the 1979 edition appears in this textbook which was published a few months ago. Yuri Andropov also appears in it, although the position he held is not made clear.

"In some regions of the USSR payment of wages is being delayed because the banks have been unable to gather the necessary sums of money," A. Wolukov, head of a section of the Soviet bank, told a reporter for IZVESTIA. Wages are rising, while industry is not meeting its financial obligations. The average wages of workers and clerical workers increased last year to 201 rubles (in 1986 they were 196 rubles). Wages on collective farms were 167 rubles (in 1986, 163 rubles).

Professor G. Kumanov, head of the Section on the History of the Great Patriotic War of the USSR Institute of History appeared in the weekly OGOŃEK for the removal of the ashes of A. Vyshinsky (the armor bearer of the cult of the personality from the Kremlin Wall), of L. Mekhlis (inquisitor of the Red Army), and M. Shkaryatov (former secretary of the Collegium of the Central Control Commission of the party) who "tolerated brutal violation of party norms and socialist legality."

A colleague of D. Kunayev, the leader of Kazakhstan, D. Bekerkhanov has been sentenced to 8 years in a heavy labor camp and his possessions confiscated for taking bribes and for corruption. Bekerkhanov is one of a dozen or so former dignitaries in Kazakhstan who have been arrested after the removal of Kunayev from the position of the first party secretary (in December 1986). The former minister of transportation A. Karavayev was sentenced last week to 13 years imprisonment.

The USSR has liberalized the regulations on abortion. The changes include, among other things, lengthening the period when the operation is allowed from the 12th to the 28th week of pregnancy, broadening the category of non-medical indications, and permitting individuals under 18 years of age to undergo the operation without their parents permission. MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA stated that the basic reason for this liberalization is to reduce the number of illegal operations that frequently end in the death or the sterility of the patient.

Simultaneously with a very sharp attack on RUDE PRAVO and PRAYDA on the reviving clericalism and anticommunism, the weekly TRIBUNA published a lengthy article that is an unequivocal negative answer to those who expected some change in the CPCZ leadership's position towards the events of 1968-69 and the people who after this period left the party and positions. The weekly refers to recent statements of former members of the highest party and state authorities of the CSSR who "constantly take up the same song: how can one speak of a counterrevolution if Dubcek and his colleagues were acting to make social life democratic, to intensify the economy, to counteract the bureaucracy, etc." These, however, were only facades, behind which revisionism and anti-sovietism lurked. This is an old practice of revisionists: they use marxist terminology to create opportunities for the development of bourgeois democracy."

13021

Polish-Cuban Friendship Society Aktiv Meets

26000122c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Aktiv of the Society for Polish-Cuban Friendship Summarizes Activities"]

[Text] In Warsaw, there was a meeting of the Polish-Cuban Friendship Society (TPPK) at which this organization's activities were summarized. In the past year, the

society broadened its work. Three new chapters were formed in Ostrołka, Opole and Białystok and the number of individual and group members rose. Particular initiative was shown by youth in the Karol Róla-Misłowski Brigades who visited Cuba and school youth who are members of the TPPK.

The Cuban charge d'affaires Juan Sanchez Montre took part in the meeting and informed those present about the situation in his country and stressed the growth of Polish-Cuban cooperation. Also present was Deputy Defense Minister for General Affairs and Society Chairman General of Arms Antoni Janicki.

12261

Political, Trade Talks Held With Spain

26000122g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12, 13 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Polish-Spanish Relations and International Problems"]

[Text] Political consultations were held in Warsaw between the Polish and Spanish foreign affairs ministries. The Polish side was led by Vice-Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and the Spanish side by Director General Fermin Zelada Jurado. The delegation was received by Henryk Jazarski, director of the Foreign Ministry and vice-minister.

The discussions examined Polish-Spanish relations. The favorable growth of these relations was emphasized and the will to promote them further in all areas was expressed. Views about key international problems, the process of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation and disarmament, including the Jaruzelski Plan, were discussed.

Spanish Ambassador Fernando Olivet took part in these talks.

The 11th session of the Polish-Spanish Joint Commission on Economic and Industrial Cooperation, a body formed by an international agreement on 13 December 1984, was held in Warsaw. The Polish delegation was led by Ryszard Dobrowolski, plenipotentiary for Foreign Economic Cooperation, and the Spanish delegation was chaired by Fernando Merry del Val, the Ministry of Economics and Finances' general director of trade policy.

The session topics included analysis of the growth of mutual trade between the two countries, cooperation since the last session in March 1986 and evaluation of the prospects for a further growth in trade by both nations with each other and on third markets. Financial and credit issues in general were also discussed.

12261

Seminar Features Relations With GDR, FRG

26001229 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
14 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Poland's Relations With the GDR and the FRG—Perspectives and Barriers"]

[Text] Poland's political and economic relations with the GDR and FRG were the subject of a three-day training seminar for young foreign trade workers and students of the State School of Stenography and Foreign Languages. The seminar was held at Mietny near Garwolin.

During the meeting, Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission, and specialists of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation and the Foreign Trade Ministry discussed the prospects for a growth in economic relations with both German states. They also emphasized specific examples of specialization and cooperation on third markets.

Wieslaw Huszcza, secretary general of the "Wisla-Odra" Society, met on 13 December with seminar participants.

12261

OPZZ Chief Visits GDR Trade Unionists

26001228 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Dec 87 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Alfred Miodowicz Visits Berlin"]

[Text] OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz visited Berlin to hold talks with the chairman of the Free German Trade Unions (FDGB), Harry Tisch. Both men highly praised the growth of cooperation between trade unions in Poland and the GDR as the result of decisions made by Wopcech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker. A. Miodowicz and H. Tisch called for the continuation of vacation exchanges between work establishments in both countries and vacation exchanges for children and young people.

12261

Polish Socialism, Democracy Specifics Viewed, Compared

26001228 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Adam Lopatka, president, Supreme Court, and chairman, Central Commission for Referendum Affairs, by Jack Dubiel: "We Are Creating a Polish Model of Democracy"]

[Text] [Question] For more than 40 years, we have been building a system of socialist democracy in Poland. A few years after the war, all of the socialist countries had

nearly identical institutions. This changed in 1956 when there first emerged a Polish road to socialism and also a model for Polish socialist democracy. What made Poland different?

[Answer] To a great extent, the Polish conditions for building socialism were considered up to 1948. This especially expressed itself in the three-sector economy, the lack of a movement to collectivize agriculture, the great freedoms given the Roman Catholic Church and other religions and above all in the existence of several political parties, namely the Polish Worker's Party, the Polish Socialist Party, the ZSL, the Polish People's Party, the SD and the Labor Party. The turning point was in 1948 when the goal was to unify the various forms for building socialism in all of the countries that had then turned to socialism and bring them closer to the traditions of the USSR.

[Question] Therefore, the October renewal in 1956 was an attempt to orient the building of socialism to Polish conditions.

[Answer] Yes, to orient practice to most but not all of the experiences that existed before 1948. Wladyslaw Gomułka then stated that Poland would take a Polish road to socialism and that every country must also take its own path. And the Polish way was to revive the multiparty system. Indeed, three parties, the PZPR, ZSL, and SD have existed since 1950 but the influence of the latter two steadily dwindled. After 1956, the policy of a three-party alliance and coalition government was revived. Agricultural cooperatives, chiefly the west ones, were dissolved and private agriculture was firmly established. Relations with the Catholic Church were also restored and the conditions were created by which lay Catholics could become involved in social action in organizations like the Christian Social Association. Party internal life also became much more democratic and this was manifested in a return to secret ballots and the development of a system of consultation.

[Question] The creation of democracy is a lengthy process which is often subjected to interference and requires the right political will and social climate. At what stage of democracy do we presently find ourselves?

[Answer] The socialist renewal that started in 1980 has found its expression in the resolutions and documents of the 9th PZPR Congress and the program adopted by that congress. It is characteristic of this time that the elements that had already emerged were now reinforced and these elements were the growth of democracy within the PZPR and its allied parties and the creation of associations like PAX, the Christian Social Association [ChSS], the Polish Catholic-Social Union [PZKS] and others that joined both Catholic and lay Christians and became an important political factor. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has gained a lasting place in social life and its own amendment in the

Constitution. Not only was coalitional government reinforced but self-government and on a larger scale professional self-management have come to play an ever-greater role in state enterprises and cooperatives. There have also been great changes in representative organs. The Sejm has indeed become a working parliament. The Socio-Economic Council and Sejm Advisors Task Force were created and Sejm commission activities have broadened. Ever since General Wojciech Jaruzelski became chairman of the Council of State, this organ has become a very lively center of political and social leadership which meets with the chairmen of people's councils and holds various industrial conferences, etc. The Consultative Council was formed to function under the chairman of the Council of State. This council is a very significant element of our system which makes it possible for everyone, even opposition groups to take part in constructive activity. In several voivodships, local versions of the Consultative Council have also been formed. There is much greater freedom of speech which is legally protected and regulated by the administrative court system. In practice, this has given rise to many new periodicals with diverse opinions. The government also works out in the open. All of this has created a situation of far-reaching freedom of speech and open public life. This is a really important factor in the democratization of our system. Up to 1980, we thought that for the system to work properly, the party had to function well and the right people had to be promoted. We did not understand the importance of institutional guarantees of proper government functioning. Today, we have accomplished much in creating such institutions and the proof of that is the Tribunal of State, the Constitutional Tribunal, the civil rights ombudsman and the activities of the Supreme Administrative Court. Therefore, we have not only political and moral factors to assure efficient government but also institutional guarantees which are a novelty in our system of democracy.

[Question] How does our model of democracy compare with and how does it differ from those of the other socialist countries?

[Answer] The very nature of the building of socialism gives it certain common traits such as popular rule, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialization of the key sectors of the economy, etc. However, one must recognize as one of the original Polish traits, the will to socialist renewal and reform. This reform occurred here before any place (najwcześnie) else and with particular emphasis, and it was only somewhat later that reform was instituted as perestrojka in the USSR and in certain other countries. Our original characteristics are furthermore the continuation of what had already taken place and that is the diverse nature of our economy (state, cooperative and private ownership), the growth of private farming and small industry and Polish firms. Such a strongly-developed private sector cannot be found in any other socialist country. We also have a very characteristic system of interparty alliance and a coalitional government involving the Catholic and

Christian communities. I have already mentioned open political life and freedom of speech. In no other socialist country have these characteristics been found as strongly as in Poland. This has created the conditions for constructive action for a state supported by persons of all different philosophies and religions and also reaches out to people left standing on the sidelines. The accents of self-government are stronger than in any other place. In sum, all of this is what makes the Polish model of socialist democracy an original one.

[Question] In the Central Committee Politburo's report to the 6th Plenum, it was stated that "Poland is stronger, more just and more sovereign, the more it is socialist. The stronger and richer the socialism, the better adapted it is to Polish conditions and the better it expresses the will and desires of our society...We are creating our own Polish model of social, economic and political life". This quote could actually serve as a motto for our conversation. The same report contained some interesting proposals for further institutional solutions and chiefly ones to strengthen the people's councils, change the voting procedure for people's council and Sejm elections so as to perhaps change the structure of these bodies and still many other ideas. Could you offer your comments on these concepts?

[Answer] According to the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress, the process of establishing a Polish socialist democracy should be somehow summarized in a new Constitution which would coincide with the 200th anniversary of the 3 May Constitution in 1991. On the one hand, the 6th Plenum recommends continuing the already well-advanced changes in progress but also the introduction of new elements. These would include a more democratic election system, work on which has already been started in the 1980's. This work is also being continued to make more democratic the people's council elections scheduled to be held in the middle of next year. It is planned that groups of citizens or different social groups will be able to sponsor their own candidates to run alongside those nominated by political parties and social organizations. There will be alphabetical candidate lists, mandates will be abolished and all candidates will, therefore, have an equal chance. This should raise the prestige of elections and increase public interest and above all make it possible for people who have never before had a chance to become advisors and afterwards even deputies. The second fundamental change is the introduction of full self-government in communities, districts and cities. This is associated with the concept of communal property owned by a community or city and that should give local communities enough economic independence to take responsibility for local problems. Mayors will also be elected by a council or by the citizens. One can say that the state administration will end at the level of the voivodship and that self-government will be below that. Citizens will have their hands on their own everyday problems such as housing, repairs, education, business, health, urban transportation and agriculture.

[Question] Will the Sejm become a two-chamber parliament?

[Answer] Perhaps the idea may be accepted. But who would have seats in the second chamber? Would it be representatives of the working class or local and workplace self-management or would some other solution be used? It is still hard to say something on that subject but discussion will resolve it all. People have called for the liquidation of arbitration and its replacement with economic adjudication and for increased court control over government decisions such as refusals to issue passports, refusals to register associations or the disbandment of associations. There must be a better balance in the state between legislative and controlling organs and between government and court organs. The government still has a noticeable advantage over legislative organs and the courts. The government should also be freed from having to ration deficit goods because their supply should be determined by the market. This would in sum create a model of a well-run state in which unlike before, a crisis of government would not be a crisis of the entire state.

[Question] In another two days, the referendum will be held. As everyone knows, one of the two referendum questions concerns the process of the further development of a Polish model of socialist democracy...

[Answer] The referendum is a new development that was recently introduced by the law but it is not anything unusual. It is a form of direct democracy and the most authentic expression of the public's will on the given issue. The referendum to be held day after tomorrow concerns problems of fundamental interest to us all and it will decide what direction we choose to take and whether or not we want socialist democracy. We are trying to solve issues that will determine the growth of our fatherland in the next few years.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation!

12261

Internal Control Mechanisms in State Enterprises Inefficient

26000122e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
9 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Functioning of Internal Control in State Enterprises"]

[Text] There was a meeting of the Commission on Controlling Waste and Improvement of the Protection of State Property of the Council of Ministers' Committee on Preservation of Law, Order and Social Discipline.

The commission familiarized itself with the General Prosecutor and the Supreme Chamber of Control's information about the functioning of internal control in state enterprises. The presented information shows that this form of control is inefficient and has little influence on

management efficiency. Therefore, it was stated that it would be necessary to act to improve the functioning of work supervision and the entire system of internal control in these enterprises. This goal should be promoted by the systems solutions adopted for the second stage of economic reform.

The meeting also evaluated the realization of instructions on property penalties. It was stated that the implementation of penalties had improved. During the meeting, the directions of work aimed at eliminating current problems were discussed.

The meeting was chaired by the vice-chairman of the commission, Brigadier General Jerzy Cwiek (PAP).

12261

Voivodship People's Councils Sessions Held

26000122i Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Dec 87 p 5

[Unattributed article: "WRN Sessions"]

[Text] Voivodship peoples councils [WRN] met today. The session of the Peoples Council of the city of Krakow discussed realization of a program for protection of the environment and water resources. The state of forest complexes in Katowice Voivodship was assessed by the Katowice WRN. The Rzeszow WRN passed a program for cultural development to the year 2000. Trends in the growth of livestock production were discussed by the Skierniewice WRN.

12261

PZPR CC Views Young Cadre Development

26000122a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Problems in the Growth of a Young Cadre"]

[Text] On 7 December, problems in the development of a young cadre were the topic of the latest meeting of the Party Task Force of the Sciences of Organization and Management of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific and Technological Progress. The premises for a congress of organizers were discussed along with the problems and program for action for the present term of office of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Committee on Sciences of Organization and Management. The meeting was chaired by Leszek Pasieczny, professor of the Social Sciences Academy. 12261

Warsaw Defense Committee on Ecological Issues
26000131c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Nov 87 p 11

[Unattributed article: "Voivodship Defense Committee Meetings"]

[Text] Yesterday, 24 November, the Warsaw Voivodship Defense Committee held its latest meeting under the chairmanship of Warsaw Mayor Jerzy Boleslawski.

Along with the other issues considered at the meeting, the committee also examined the problem of the potential threat to Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship posed by industrial chemicals and radioactive substances. These substances are found in various local enterprises and an industrial or transportation accident could endanger the natural environment.

Out of concern for the safety of residents and the natural environment, the defense committee made a series of decisions aimed at preventing possible accidents and protecting the environment against the effects of such accidents.

The meeting was attended not only by the committee's permanent members and invited specialists but also by Secretary of the National Defense Committee General of Arms Jerzy Skalski and Chief Inspector for National Civil Defense Division General Jozef Cwetsch.

12261

Sejm Delegate on Draft of Changes to Censorship Law
26000122d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
7 Dec 87 p 7

[Comments by Wiktor Pawlak, PZPR delegate, during the Sejm plenary sessions: "Bill To Change the Law on Control of Publications and Public Performances"]

[Text] With the authorization of the Commission on Government, Internal Affairs and Justice and the Legislative Work Commission, the deputy presented the bill to change the law on publications and public performances submitted to the Sejm by the Council of State. This bill was discussed in July of this year at a joint session of these two committees and representatives of the government, Supreme Court, Supreme Administrative Court and the Prosecutor General. Changes to article 4 and especially sections 1 and 2 of the law have been introduced. These changes will exempt computer programs from preliminary censorship and broaden the possibilities for a similar exemption for publications and public performances without any need for justification if an editor, publisher or organizer of a public performance so recommends.

The reporting deputy reminded listeners that the law on control of publications and public performances was enacted on 1 October 1981 and has been in force ever since. In the last 6 years, the principle of openness in public life has found ever fuller expression in the mass media. In the press, radio, television and books, there is an often very stormy discussion about the most important problems of economic growth and improvement of the political system and about some very sensitive, difficult and urgent problems of social policy.

As the deputy stated, these discussions reflect freely-formed opinions and different political and philosophical points of view. There have been no obstructions to press criticism of the evils in our social life, various pathologies of everyday life, economic shortcomings, ecological problems, health care and of the actions of various levels of government when they show indolence, bureaucratism, insensitivity or incompetence. "Some drawbacks of this freedom," said the deputy, "are the small number of precise regulations protecting the good of the people and state. The law on control of publications and public performances is addressed to everyone who enjoys freedom of speech and press. It is not only the censors that are accountable to this law but also editors and publishers. The strong majority of them follow the limits set by the law. That is why there have been so few cases of intervention".

12261

Pope Elevates Lodz Priest to Bishop
26000122h Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "New Bishop Named"]

[Text] According to information of the Secretariat of the Polish Primate, Pope John Paul II has named Adam Lepa, pastor of the parish of Most Holy Ascension of the Virgin Mary in Lodz, bishop-auxiliary to Bishop Wladyslaw Ziolek. 12261

Katowice PZPR Chief, Bishop Meet
26000122h Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
10 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Katowice—Meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee First Secretary With the Diocese Ordinary"]

[Text] On 9 December, First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee met with Bishop Damian Zimon, ordinary of the Katowice Diocese.

They exchanged views on the present social and political situation and discussed the current social and political situation as well as present possibilities for action to improve the living conditions of the voivodship's citizens.

12261

German Revisionist History Viewed

26000131b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
25 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Historical Session in Katowice"]

[Text] "Upper Silesia—the target of German revisionism in 1918-1939" was the subject of an academic session on 24 November in Katowice.

Scholars from universities in Wrocław, Gdańsk and Katowice, the Silesian Institute in Opole, the Ostrawa pedagogical school and the Silesian Institute in Opava in Czechoslovakia took part in this conference. Also present was Kazimierz Kakol, the director of the Chief Commission for Study of Nazi Crimes in Poland of the Warsaw Institute of National Memory.

12261

Power Engineering Construction Trade Unions Meet

26000122j Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by (g): "Meeting of Power Industry Construction Trade Unions"]

[Text] Is the power engineering construction industry holding together? This was the most important problem discussed at the 7th meeting of representatives of organizations within the Federation of Power Engineering Construction Trade Unions in Warsaw on 9 December.

12261

YUGOSLAVIA

Difficulties Blocking Constitutional Change Highlighted

28000060 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 87 pp 24-25

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "That Type of Fish Doesn't Exist"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Why should we alter the Constitution—if that does not change anything? What is the alternative for democratizing the political system, the market economy and a divorce between the economy and the polity? What do the "catastrophologists" have to say about it?

During a scientific expedition across the Pacific, three crew members of the "Kon-Tiki" raft one night caught a snakelike fish with a shape and color that they had never seen before. They immediately took it to the fourth member of the crew, a specialist in marine life, woke him up and showed him the fish. He looked at it calmly, said, "That type of fish doesn't exist," and went back to sleep.

The moral of this story was used by Mr Vladimir Goatij in his study, "LCY, Crisis and Democracy," as a sample and model for the situation over the past 18 years. During that period, Yugoslav sociologists have seriously noted the economic and/or social crisis in Yugoslavia, while politicians have sharply criticized them for this and derisively called them "crissologists," refusing, therefore to acknowledge that this crisis exists in our sea of problems.

Today, we find ourselves in a significantly altered situation: The word "crisis," with all the corresponding adjectives—socio-economic, moral and political—is part of the everyday vocabulary at every political meeting, and even at plenums of the Central Committee of the LCY. Paradoxically, there is currently something else: The need to clearly define and overcome the crisis through deep plowing of the economic and political system of Yugoslavia is being advocated—in full series—by workers, entrepreneurial structures and scholars from all regions of Yugoslavia, and it has been brought up at forums of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Veterans Federation, the Youth League and others—but nevertheless, fundamental changes in the political system are taking place at a tortoise's pace.

Behind Closed Doors

If someone did not know how quickly news travels in our country, both where it should be and where it should not, he might think that our glorious Federal Parity Constitutional Commission, together with the republican and provincial commissions, meets somewhere in some secluded village in Kopaonik that stays shut up all year, with no mail and no telephone, where no reverberations of the constant demands from all over Yugoslavia get through, and nonetheless stares at the fish that does not exist—right in front of its eyes, until it eats us up all at once.

The immediate reason for this thought was last week's meeting of the Council of the Republic of the SR Bosnia-Herzegovina, where, among other things, the following question was literally raised: Where, in what secluded village, do the people live who prepare constitutional amendments, and is it possible to simply talk about constitutional change for 2 years while the situation in the country is continually worsening?

At that meeting (and there has been a countless number of them in Yugoslavia over the past 2 years), a full list of burning issues was drawn up that the members of the Council suggested be urgently defined in the Assembly of the SR Bosnia-Herzegovina and sent on to the "Yugoslav leaders" as part of the formal demands of that republic. It was said that the most urgent of these demands is that the weakness of the current electoral system be acknowledged and that all representatives to delegate assemblies be elected secretly in direct elections, including the members of the Presidency of the SFRY;

that the republican presidency, which reduces the influence of delegate assemblies, be abolished; that there be energetic demands for the formation of a council of associated labor in the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, elected according to criteria of economic sector instead of territory; that there be an end to flaunting the troubles of the SR Serbia in the formulation of republican dignity and sovereignty—and that the SR Bosnia-Herzegovina resolutely oppose the desire to change provinces into republics, etc. etc.

All of these and other important questions, it was emphasized at the conclusion, should cease to be "chewed about" in the narrow, elitist political-bureaucratic circles like federal-republican-provincial "chewing gum" concerning changes in the political and economic system; this is not a question that is easily removed from the agenda by assessing (at least by prominent participants in this meeting) that "no one in Yugoslavia" can prevent democratization and putting the main question of the resolution of our crisis "before the great table of the entire citizenry" any longer. Because if this were the case, it would be impossible to explain, especially these days, in the midst of the crisis that is increasingly dragging us into a bottomless pit, how constitutional changes are being discussed and are furthermore shrouded behind tightly closed doors so that it is impossible to get any answers—and not even possible to ask the question—concerning why all possible envisaged deadlines have been exceeded for the final draft of amendments that, as it is well-known, were supposed to be before the delegates to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia prior to the Day of the Republic.

If it were not for the fact that the strength of the Yugoslav public is something that many Yugoslavs conceive of in their illusions, would the paradox that we are witnessing really be possible? Specifically, once this is submitted to the delegates of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, it will be a "harmonized project" of amendments that will then be (quite unnecessarily) presented for public discussion.

Because if the draft amendments are presented for public discussion, then one might suppose that the public should express its opinion on this draft document—perhaps even a negative one. However, if these amendments are first "harmonized on republican-provincial levels," what then is the purpose of a public discussion that will face two restrictions in advance: First of all, there is the harmonization already noted (and that which has been definitively harmonized cannot be unharmonized, especially not on the authority of "some citizens"); the second restriction is that changes can be discussed only "from this place to this place," and cannot move backward or forward.

What then are the citizens to discuss, and for what purpose then is there public discussion (if the word "discussion" has kept its Latin meaning—the exchange

of ideas, naturally differing ones, since identical ideas cannot be exchanged) in which all the participants must observe limits agreed upon in advance?

Public Discussion—To What End?

Of course, this entire blockade of change is illegitimate; it is strictly based on the Constitution, since the 1974 Constitution provides for changes only on the basis of general agreement among all eight constituent elements of the (con-) federation. Since there is no agreement, it is impossible to even change the Constitution—and all indications are that we will trudge along with this constitutional obstacle for another decade, if not longer—into that which several historical analogies about harmonization show us.

Once, in the Catholic church, it was simply not possible to elect a pope. At the second synod at Lyons in 1274, a law was adopted on electing the pope (*ubi periculum*) that more or less remains in force to this day. The most significant paragraphs of this church law state that 10 days after the death of a pope, the cardinals must seclude themselves from the outside world in order to elect a new pope. If they have not succeeded in this after 3 days, then they receive only one dish at lunch and dinner, after another 5 days only bread and water, after that only water... until a pope is elected.

Naturally, we are not suggesting that similar rules be implemented in our country, but it is not because they would not be efficient in our process of reaching an agreement on changes in the political system as well, but rather because the problem here is that many people do not even want to elect a new "pope-constitution," and would rather have the dead one than elect a new one. Specifically, the problem is obvious from the fact that the elite structures of our poliocentric state are not at all thought of in categories: What would Yugoslavia gain through necessary changes, and what would Yugoslavia lose because it does not have these changes. In our country, there is a different calculation carried out, and a different consideration: How much would the republics and provinces lose from a change in the Constitution, and for this reason, no one budges even a centimeter from his assumed position.

The question here is obviously much more serious than even the problem that is being solved (i.e., changing the Constitution): If, and it appears that this is becoming increasingly obvious, the constituent elements of Yugoslavia do not want to consolidate Yugoslavia because they do not believe in it (the protests from all the republics and provinces that Yugoslavia is robbing them separately are actually not in unison), how then can there be any expectation whatsoever that any sort of agreement will be reached—except with respect to sprinkling deodorant over that which does not smell good today? (Another question, of course, is where this mutual distrust comes from, but that is the subject of another story.)

Millions of significant pieces of evidence can be presented to advance the notion that there is really no desire for change in our country, fundamental and essential changes, without which there is no escaping the crisis. Is it not true that the feverish attempt to avoid changes, even when they are approved by the citizens of socialist self-management Yugoslavia by plebiscite (an unattractive word, because it is misused, but there is nothing better available) is addressed in a highly picturesque fashion by the fate of the nationwide and communist-wide discussion that took place after the 13th session of the Central Committee of the LCY, at which a million workers very sharply criticized the general situation and in particular their leaders, demanding fundamental changes? And what happened after that discussion? At the 16th session, the members of the Central Committee were presented with an anemic resolution from which it could be deduced that our nations and nationalities are essentially content, except with their federal government.

Inevitable Question

Another striking example of avoidance of change is the "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System." This analysis is not only something that, at least as an end result, aimed to demoralize all euphoria concerning the adoption of stabilizing programs and changes in general, but was—in keeping with its results—an official denial of what the people said after the 13th session (and what was hushed up by the 16th session). And not only that: Even though the "Critical Analysis" was met, at numerous meetings throughout Yugoslavia (except at prepared and simultaneous forum discussions in particular), with primarily confounded opinions (to note only one of them, expressed at a meeting at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, where it was said that even a first-year law student would be flunked for a booklet like the "Critical Analysis"), in the end it was adopted as an official document—unanimously. Although it was in fact at those forums from which we hear to this day that fundamental changes are not necessary, which is probably what will be said until we arrive in the very depths of hell, and even then talk will continue this way in defined structures.

Thus, we finally come to the inevitable question to end all questions, which, after all, our sociologists have been asking for some time now, so that they are now being called "catastrophologists" instead of "crisisologists." This question is: How much longer can we go on swinging between Scylla and Charybdis, and what are the alternatives for democratizing the political system, the market economy and an ultimate divorce between the economy and the polity?

Sociologists provide the following: The state is not soap, it does not wear away easily, but it is also not steel that can withstand unlimited pressure. Everything has its limit of endurance, including a state with so many contradictions that are not being resolved, but are

instead deepening, in the unanimous view of all Yugoslavs. The question is not in any sense rhetorical. History is full of examples of societies that were unable to resolve internal contradictions, and as a result a situation of plundering or anarchy or totalitarianism emerged, or some combination thereof. We can claim how much we want for "that type of fish not to exist"—but we cannot in this way deny its existence until infinity. We can, but then it is at the expense of that which, especially these days, the "catastrophologists"—or rather, all of science—is saying with intensity.

Cost, Effect of LCY's Kumrovec School Questioned

28000072 Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian
30 Nov 87 p 36

[Article by Svetlana Vasovic]

[Text] Those schools were supposed to educate "rulers." However, the majority of those attending will never attain "ruling power." The elite "Josip Broz Tito" Yugoslav party school in Kumrovec is no different in this regard either. The cost in Party funds is tremendously high, the "students" don't know why they're separated from their families for some 10 months, other than that a great, marvelous cadre merry-go-round awaits them there somewhere.

On the edge of Kumrovec, in a strategically very secure location, is the elite "Josip Broz Tito" Yugoslav Party school for promising ideological-political cadres.

Closer contact with this boardinghouse for ideological training brings to mind some of the most modern Holiday Inns. Despite the builders' intention to emphasize asceticism for guests expected to persist in "studying, studying, and only studying," and despite the simplicity of the combination of bare concrete walls and light-colored wood, the facility seems quite luxurious. Finally, the hotel-like atmosphere stems not only from the luxurious foyers and reception desk and the murmur of voices but also from the kind individual who greets me at the entrance and takes me to the assistant director, Mirko Banjevlav. Coffee, tea, and one of the three quotations incorporated into the school's founding: "...our communists must set a good example everywhere and excel. And in order for them to excel, since our people are very clever, they must equip themselves with theoretical knowledge and become familiar with problems. They must know that no leader can establish authority for himself in the area where he works if he cannot show in a practical way that he knows at least as much as those whom he leads, if not more. This is how one must study!" (Tito, 1950)

The 13th class of students in the one-year program of "ideological-political training and Marxist education" is currently studying in the school.

The LCY is the only communist party in the world that does not have a developed, systematic form of ideological-theoretical training for its leadership cadres. Thus, 108 of this year's attendees of the highest party political school in the country have the luck to have been approved in the structures that proposed them and then in the central committees of the republics or provinces, or in the LCY committees in the Yugoslav People's Army or the federal government.... They are fortunate that in the "competitive selection" (there are no relevant data, however, as to how competitive this selection actually is), they met the established criteria: activity in the workplace and in LCY basic organizations, youth, employment, characteristics that are necessary for an LCY member (?) as well as membership in the Party.... Finally, they are all fortunate that our clever people are paying party dues, from which the resources for financing the school and education are taken....

"No Job Placement"

"I don't know the exact cost, but I know that it's very high—room and board about a million-plus old dinars," says Slavica Filipovic from Zagreb, whom the Pescenica opcina conference recommended. For 9 and one-half months, the duration of the course, each attendee costs the party treasury about 300 (old) million dinars just for room and board—not counting inflation! For 108 attendees, this sum amounts to about 3.5 billion dinars, not counting administrative expenses or the fact that during training everyone receives his regular monthly personal income which, although charged to the firms, also comes out of party funds.... If we add the living expenses of tutors, instructors, and auxiliary personnel, it is necessary to ask what society receives for the equivalent of a million American dollars (at the current rate of exchange).

It receives—cadres. And here is what kind: the age range of attendees is 25 to 45 years, in which those in the middle (from 31 to 35 years) predominate. Women are represented quite well—one-fifth of attendees are women. Average party membership is 10 years. As far as qualifications are concerned, approximately 50 percent are secondary-school graduates, while highly-skilled workers and those with advanced training make up the smallest groups (about 15 percent each). An essential criterion in establishing this institute is "...that at least 50 percent of the total number of attendees come from direct production"; this has been adhered to for the most part over all these years. This year, the percentage of attendees from basic organizations of associated labor is more favorable, while the number of those from working communities has decreased, but the percentage of students from organs of socio-political communities has increased. Interestingly, the majority have already passed courses in lower party schools.

Since there are no records as to where the 1,155 graduates of the Kunrovec school have "settled," we have not been able to check the theory that it is a springboard to

further career development and better advancement in party life.... The truth is, according to the Institute for Social Research in Skopje, most of the attendees return to whence they came—to the base, at least for a while. However, the fact is that some cadres while still in school, are chosen for professional political functions; this makes possible further cadre promotion for them.... To mention this fact also gives to a great extent a picture of the motivation of attendees more or less to leave their families for 9 months and dedicate themselves to Kumrovec.

"Motivation?" Let me think about the question...hmm..." says Savo Svircevic, assistant director of the Center for Culture and Information of Beocin and nominated student.

With others queried as well, the unusual fact was confirmed that the majority of attendees came to school because it was suggested, without any specific advance concept of the reasons for attending (e.g., Rada Markovic, 32 years old, delegate of the "Crna Gora Coop"). However, after prolonged reflection, all agree with the determinants that Comrade Banjevlav pointed out to us.

In truth, the Kunrovec school attempts to be on the side of the "political school as a business" idea; thus, it insists on using only source materials and bringing in high-quality instructors. Moreover, for just this reason, the school council recently considered the possibility that all attendees need not receive a diploma in the future so as to reduce at least slightly the suspicion that these forms of party treatment of selected members represent a pure waste of money....

To Study Administration

Finally, the extent and kind of role of political schools in general, including the one in Kumrovec, are illustrated by the experience of a man who, over time, has completed all party schools operating in the country:

"These are schools that have had the training of 'rulers' as their goal. Nevertheless, I wouldn't exaggerate in such statements, since the majority of attendees completing the course will hardly ever attain 'ruling' power later in political life, but will still have the feeling of belonging to the party-polyarchival establishment, a system in which ruling is carried out by means of a large number of people who have authority but are without power, and in which only a few people combine authority and power—functional position and personal 'power.'"

It would be erroneous to think that party training teaches attendees how ruling is carried out by the state or about correct governing by the state. The majority of communist states, including this one of ours, have problems not only with the political form of the state in relation to the

socio-economic contents, but also with the technical-administrative functioning of the state. Some party-trained people simply have no concept of this. There can be only one consequence of this, naturally.

A "view of the world" has a special meaning in party training—he who masters the "Marxist view of the world," a favorite thesis in the programs of all forms of ideological-political training, can be an ordinary ignoramus, but nevertheless finds himself in "decision-making professions" ahead of a first-class physicist, simply because the latter has not mastered the "Marxist view of the world." Perhaps that's strange, but that's how it is. After all, it is obvious that the party system of schooling has as its goal to produce better people than others. This is the most important function of party schooling, no matter how unpleasant something like that can be for political life.

13156/12223

MLADINA Editor Explains Paper's Popularity
28000032 Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian
23 Oct 87 p 13-15

[Interview with Robert Bettori, editor in chief of MLADINA, by Marko Lopusina: "We Are the West"]

[Text] "Nationalism in Serbia—Trial is Rigged! Stalinism in Action—Why and How Was Milovan Brkic Arrested? What Did Comrade Mamula Think?" The newsboys cry out the headlines from MLADINA and add, "Buy it before it's banned!" This is how the latest issue of the Slovenian youth newspaper is sold on the streets of Ljubljana, the only newspaper in Yugoslavia which has sold out for months. Circulation is 35,000 and there are no unsold copies left over.

"When you buy MLADINA, you are buying fresh news, but more than that, you are buying a ticket to a public street performance. The sale of our newspaper is a 'happening' in which journalists, newsboys, readers, and policemen participate, because there is as much foolishness in this performance as the Internal Affairs Council [IAC] will allow us. At first we were not allowed to sell on the street at all, with the explanation that we were 'interfering with traffic,' and later that we were 'disturbing the public.' However, this only worked to our benefit, because MLADINA acquired the image of an unruly child. It became popular and in demand, while those who sold it, such as Brane Koncilija, for example, became legends in Slovenian public life."

These are the words of Robert Bettori, the chief editor on an editorial staff which includes four other editors, two journalists, and about thirty foreign contributors. Until three years ago, MLADINA was a typical youth magazine. Quiet, with a small circulation, it was subsidized by Mladinska Knjiga, a well-known publisher. And then it seemed to go wild. It became involved with social problems and began by launching so-called 'alternative

ideas' about the civilian term of service in the military, about abolishing the youth relay-race, about the anti-nuclear movement, about freedom of opinion. Thus MLADINA grew into a public political forum whose voice is heard all over Yugoslavia today.

Long Arm?

"We haven't thought of anything new, we have only continued where the Zagreb paper POLET left off. Democracy is our motto and our mission. In order to embrace it, we began to break taboos, to publish what others did not dare publish or what they would not publish, and we decided no longer to follow societal events but to create them. Thus we came to the conclusion that the press always has the potential to launch ideas of the young into the broader social arena from below. All of these alternative ideas, or movements, would remain somewhere underground, muffled, if there were no MLADINA or TRIBUNA. Unfortunately, everything that we have been doing is like the work of free lancers, because we have not had any support from the RK SSO [Federation of Socialist Youth] of Slovenia. Their tactics have been to let MLADINA be autonomous, 'we will not interfere in their work, and when they make a mistake we will intervene!' And right after the first articles dealing with the appropriateness of the youth relay race at a time when Tito is no longer alive, there have been accusations that 'these ideas do young people more harm than good.'"

The appearance of peace activists, antinuclear people and ecologists on the pages of MLADINA has provoked anger, revolt, and sharp criticism from the Yugoslav public, as well as in many federal and republic forums. Thus, one hears comments that the Slovenian ecologists and peace activists are the "long arm of the west," and that these alternative movements are a real "danger to the SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia]."

"In essence, alternative movements are a basic realization of self-management, or a direct way in which social initiatives can flow from 'the bottom up,' rather than from the 'top down,' which is how the SAWPY wants it. I admit that these ideas come from the west. After all, everything has come to us from the west—the industrial revolution, the workers' movement, even Marxism. Only the Communist Party has been imported from the eastern steppes. However, our alternative movements do not represent the long arm of capitalism. They have taken root and grown here, because today Yugoslavia has the same problems as western Europe. And we are the west! This is a fact, and not a fashionable idea! We depend on the west, all of our dollars go there. The alternative movement is a reflection of a new concept of the politicalization of European and Yugoslav youth which is radically different from the student rebellions of 1968. Today the youth are not making a general attack on the

entire social system, but only on a specific problem. They fight until this problem is solved, and then the movement breaks up and young people assemble around some other idea."

Much Talk

The center of these alternative movements is Ljubljana, the city in which MLADINA sells the largest share of its circulation today and the city which young Slovenians consider to be an "oasis of democracy and civilization," in which alternative ideas can flower freely. Only later, when it obtained the patronage of the youth organization, did the movement seize all of Slovenia, and after the Chernobyl catastrophe, ecologists appeared from all over Yugoslavia. MLADINA became involved in a similar public cause "in defense of political delinquents," or people who think differently. For example, interviews have been published with Dobrosav Paraga and Vladimir Seksa, which were unique precedents for the press in our country.

"By providing a public forum where ideas of the so-called 'political transgressors' can be aired, we have not only demonstrated the old traditions of alternative journalism but also tried to point out what is the cornerstone of any democracy—freedom of speech and opinion. These are rights which must be guaranteed so that we can speak publicly about anything. We think that there are too many cases of verbal misdemeanors, that article 133 of the Penal Code of the SFRY is too broad, and we have fought energetically to point out all of its shortcomings," asserted Robert Bettori.

Because of all the lengthy talks and writings which have disturbed the public and injured the reputation of the SFRY ("Surrounded by Love," "Slovenians Have Not Been Killing Serbs," "I Looked Like a Scarecrow," and the letters of Ciril Zebot) MLADINA has been under prosecution four times in recent years and has thus acquired the epithet of the most frequently banned newspaper in Yugoslavia. At the same time, this has also been a sign that this newspaper exerts pressure even in the "oasis of democracy."

"MLADINA is a political voice which has taken aim at the taboos in our society, demanding that our entire social system be reexamined, especially the 'taboo of Kardelj.' We want to be more critical, more severe on the SSO and the political situation, and to be 'anational,' but not unitarists. We have been banned several times temporarily, but only once for a longer period. That was the August double-issue of MLADINA, which contained a letter by a Slovenian emigre in the U.S., concerning Stanet Kavcic, in which this person speaks about the 'civil war' of 1941-45 in Yugoslavia; the letter contained certain excerpts from the banned issue of KATEDRA which were insulting to our highest leaders. We have, however, endured a great many nasty telephone calls in the form, 'get rid of this or that or the issue will not be published.' These take place every two or three months.

In addition to these calls we also get comments and warnings which say, for example, 'you can criticize what you want in the south, but you cannot do so here.' Now the situation has been reversed. They say, 'you can say what you want here, but not down there.' When we rushed out too soon with criticism of Hamdija Pozderac last spring in the Ljubljana student newspaper TRIBUNA, we were told openly: 'Leave him alone, he is the head of the constitutional commission, the future president of the SFRY, and a man who sympathizes with Slovenians!'"

Use of Mikulic

The man whom MLADINA has most often "used" the last few years is Branko Mikulic. To begin with, publication of an article on the premier as a man with an "iron fist" was halted a year ago, but the article by Tomaz Mastnak appeared in the Belgrade newspaper GLAS EKONOMISTA, which was banned because of this. With the increase in inflation and especially with the outbreak of the Agrokomerc affair, our premier has been portrayed as director of this criminal-economic drama, and in the last issue of MLADINA he could be found on the cover wreathed in factory smoke. Pure social realism?

"We often write like this about Branko Mikulic because we would like for him to be premier in the proper sense of the word, that is, to be a man whom we chose according to a program which he proposed, whose work we will publicly evaluate and who will leave his position if he does not carry out his program. Mikulic is not a real president of the state because he was chosen behind closed doors and because he does not utilize the institution of responsibility in his work. He is not to blame for everything, he did not come into an ideal system, nor is he the one who 'messed up' affairs, although one would at least expect the premier to carry out legal actions. However, the public is convinced that Mikulic's best act was withdrawing Tomaz Mastnak from criminal liability for the unpublished article in MLADINA. I personally think that it would be best if Branko Mikulic went to court, because court is a democratic institution in which one might hear all that Mastnak and Mikulic have to say, and in this way our president would not remain sheltered from public opinion," Bettori stated categorically.

When journalists from this newspaper recently identified soldiers from Split as those who had thought up the crimes and incidents, all of Dalmatia rose up in defense of their former partisans. Misunderstanding has always accompanied the articles and efforts of MLADINA, both in Slovenia and throughout the country.

"Those who direct criticism at us are for the most part those who usually do not read MLADINA, but various internal bulletins in which selection from our writings serve as negative examples, along with the slogan 'What is MLADINA saying to us? I don't want to place the sources of this criticism in a territorial sense, I oppose

territorial divisions, but I can say that MLADINA, for example, is no longer sold at the kiosk of the young people's press in Belgrade because someone wanted it to be that way. Criticism which is directed at us is diverse in its acuity. Most frequent is that MLADINA is really an exponent of official Slovenian policy through which 'trial balloons' are sent out into the public—positions on which the whole country must decide in the future. MLADINA is not a mouthpiece of Slovenian politicians, nor of the Slovenian government. MLADINA is only the result of a process of democratization which is taking place in Slovenia. But unfortunately, it is also the result of certain acts of manipulation taking place at the political top. While our Slovenian officials criticize us for writing about marginal phenomena, for having no writing etiquette, even for being insulting, at the same time we are attacked by the so-called 'alternative circles' because of the alternative movement, and they draw us into their political game in a perfidious way. Thus, there are critics from these 'alternative circles' who, by discussing MLADINA, are really sending a message to all of Slovenia, or criticizing the LCY and the SSO of Slovenia," according to the chief editor of MLADINA.

Fabricated Syndrome

However, these criticisms of MLADINA, both from within and without, have never had great consequences for the editorial staff. No editor of this paper has been dismissed, nor called to account. And this fact, as well as the entire journalistic and social involvement of this paper, has in the meantime contributed to the creation of the so-called "Slovenian syndrome," which is primarily reflected in the fact that in Slovenia everything is different.

"Let us understand that Slovenia is not something special. No one knows precisely what Slovenians think," says Bettori. "Here and there, for example, some studies have shown that young people are against the kind of relay race we have today. The youth of Slovenia have said this publicly, but young people in other parts of the country keep silent, although they think the same thing. The Slovenian syndrome was invented by those who want to defend the situation in their republics and provinces, who want to prevent the 'import' of ideas from Slovenia. Remember, for example, that one of the incriminating pieces of evidence in the 'Sarajevo birthday' case was the fact that these students supported the Slovenian initiatives. Really, it is a matter of fear of democratization and of indoctrination by democracy, because every act of democratization forces responsible people to act differently. Democracy is a difficult and complicated matter for someone with a pasha mentality and for someone who finds it easier to send a detachment of police against the youth than to solve a problem to which young people are trying to attract attention. In order to avoid all these misunderstandings, we at MLADINA have decided to publish our newspaper in Serbo-Croatian, although we worry that some will interpret this as an act of provocation.

Positive Manipulation

This is not the only change anticipated by MLADINA and its editor in chief in a program of new editorial concepts. First of all, it is necessary to publish from Ljubljana articles about the Slovenian provinces as well in order to raise the circulation of the paper in smaller cities in the republic. And then it is necessary to develop "investigative journalism" which, in addition to describing a situation, will attempt to offer solutions to social problems. And finally, it is necessary to acquire the patronage of the RK SSO of Slovenia at last. However, as can be seen in the program offered by the new editor in chief, this does not mean that MLADINA will renounce surprises. One of them is the chief method of public attack by the paper in the future: positive manipulation.

"The time of childhood democracy is past. If the RK SSO of Slovenia thinks that it is going to be a political organization of influence, and MLADINA a medium for articulation and imposition of the interests of youth, then there must be a symbiosis of these two enterprises. After all, MLADINA has already forced the RK SSO of Slovenia to become a media star on several occasions. After the uproar over the posters for Youth Day, everyone in Yugoslavia knew who Tonet Andric was. If this symbiosis had taken place earlier, our ideas about the civilian military term would have been properly understood and would not have experienced organized resistance. Because we did not have support, MLADINA and the rest of the youth press was manipulated by the politicians in the poster incident as well, so that the entire Yugoslav public demanded the lynching of Slovenian youth. MLADINA does not dare run for life as the remaining voice of youth, it does not dare permit a 'big press' to smother it. With ever increasing circulation we are becoming a material force and this force must be used so that MLADINA becomes and remains the articulator of public opinion," said Robert Bettori at the end of our meeting.

9548

Djilas Participates, Is Criticized at Paris Writers' Forum

28000061 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
1 Dec 87 pp 42-44

[Article by Predrag Matvejevic: "The Splendor and Misfortune of M. Djilas"]

[Text] The "Forums" that have been held in Europe to date are more or less different from other similar gatherings: at them, cultural representatives have discussed primarily civic freedoms and human rights, in Helsinki, Moscow, Budapest, and finally, from 19 to 21 November, in Paris. The conclusions from Helsinki became a point of reference in the problem of human rights, the Moscow Forum is remembered for certain indications of "perestroika"; we recall the Budapest Forum for a positive incident (the removal of several writers—Susan

Sontag, Gyorgy Konrad, and Danilo Kis—from the official agenda, and Kis's article on censorship). We have yet to see what will remain from the Paris Forum.

It was organized by the French Center of the PEN Club, along with an organization called International Resistance (which attempts to link the tradition of resistance to fascism with resistance to contemporary totalitarianism, especially Stalinist totalitarianism), and the editorial board of the journal KONTINENT (which has gathered numerous refugee writers from the USSR, and is published in Russian, French, and English). While some of the previous Forums were sponsored by state organizations and the funds available to them, this one was held, with financial assistance from certain foundations, by the intellectuals themselves, i.e., by the administrations of their associations or editorial boards. This was necessarily reflected in the results as well. In France, the PEN Club has never had such prestige as, for example, in the English-speaking or Scandinavian countries. The current president, Rene Tavernier, who during the resistance to fascism courageously headed the journal CONFLUENCES, brought a great deal of prestige to the French Center of the PEN Club by fighting for human rights, defending persecuted foreign writers, and stressing the principles of tolerance and dialogue, but all this is not sufficient to unite and mobilize the Paris intelligentsia, which has diverse political orientations and is internally divided and suspicious. The organization International Resistance has not succeeded in attracting many members of the French resistance movement, whose ties are more with the left. The journal KONTINENT has achieved a certain reputation in cultural circles, but very limited ones. All of this had its effect.

Absences

Because of all this, the Paris Forum was not able to do any better than it did, although the huge hall in which it was held (in a luxurious hotel on Raymond Poincare Avenue, near the Etoile) was fairly full, and although several executive committee communiques were submitted to it. Two Nobel Prize winners who had been announced—Jozef Brodski and Czeslaw Milosz—did not come, the former because he was preparing the speech he was obliged to give at the awarding of the Nobel Prize, in December, and the latter because of illness. Eugene Ionesco spoke only a few sentences, obviously exhausted, and, one might say, aged. Vittorio Strada, the top Italian expert on the questions of Russian culture and art, announced the Paris Forum in the Milan newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA, but he did not make an appearance. William Styron also excused himself. No answer was received from the four Soviet writers whose invitations had been sent to the Union of Soviet Writers—Rasputin, Bityev, Voznesenski, and Aitmatov. Some well-known Russian émigré writers were also missing—Sinyavski and Etkind, who after all live in Paris (probably because of a conflict with the editors of KONTINENT), Akseyonov, who is in America, and Solzhenitsyn, who does not go to meetings of this type.

Five writers and journalists were invited from Yugoslavia (not through the Writers' Union or the republics, but personally): Aleksandar Trsama, Dobrica Cosic, Danilo Kis, Milovan Djilas, and the author of this article. Djilas opened the Forum and chaired one session. He spoke in Russian (with a rather heavy Yugoslav accent) on "Dissidence and Resistance" (subtitled "Yugoslavia: Erosion of the System"). It would be dishonest, since I want to describe the confrontation between us, not to present the basic ideas of his speech as well (I am translating it from French, based on the documents provided to the participants).

Djilas's Speech

"In Yugoslavia, the communists are the most agile destroyers of the system that they themselves designed, erected, and supported for 40 years. Regardless of factions and leaders, all are insisting together (he is referring to politicians—comment by Matvejevic) that the system be maintained, even those who can see its inefficiency and obsolescence... That collapse has not embraced the most significant cultural spheres, simply because it separated itself in time from ideological power. Despite poverty, art and science are flourishing (if only there were someone who would make broader use of them)...

"Since Yugoslavia is a multinational country, the tendencies of the national oligarchies to become stronger and become autonomous have intensified the process of erosion. The result of this is a crumbling coalition of eight communist parties and different degrees of tolerance of one republic by another...

"That erosion or collapse of the system is leading the majority of the communists to express dissatisfaction, without finding any solutions, while the minority has seized power and is attempting to preserve it by harsh methods, concealing the reality with a multitude of unrealistic projects...

"The lack of unity and the division of the members and factions of the opposition stem from the pressure of the authorities: in Yugoslavia there are several hundred people imprisoned, mostly for crimes of opinion. There are several hundred Albanians imprisoned, mostly young intellectuals, sentenced to long prison terms...

"In spite of everything, there exists a hope and a real basis for Yugoslavia to extract itself from the dead end into which it has been brought by the monopoly of the party and bureaucratic oligarchy, in my opinion, a process that is identical in all of the 'socialist' countries... Yugoslavia has the kind of experts and workers needed to create a modern economy and carry out a democratic transformation."

Dobrica Cosic also spoke. He spoke, in a collected and deliberate manner, about ideology as a "tyranny of lies," speaking in general terms and abandoning the grounds of our parochialism. His text will surely be published by

one of the Belgrade or Ljubljana literary journals, and his ideas are contained in books that come out in huge printings, so I may be forgiven for not condensing them here. Trnina and Kis did not appear at the podium, but their presence was evident, translations of their books were exhibited along with the others.

Differences

It is very good that different words were heard from Yugoslavia, and differences in the very forms of speech. I emphasized this on the speaker's platform at the Forum, upon taking the floor (after Djilas's speech, with respect to him). I did not want to refute Djilas's ideas and views; he has a right to his own ideas and his own views. I based my reasons for speaking on the fact that through PEN, I had supported Djilas's right to publish in Yugoslavia what deserved to be published, and urged that he be given the opportunity to travel outside of Yugoslavia, today, when with a Yugoslav passport in Paris it was possible to engage in polemics with him differently than when he was shut up in his homeland or prevented from leaving it. This should be realized at last by some responsible people, here and now.

Before the audience at the Forum I actually presented a summary of an article that appeared several years ago, in which I answered a question from a few friends, French philosophers, about whether Djilas was an alternative. Perhaps that letter is not sufficiently well known in Yugoslavia, since the book "Open Letters" in which it appears has not yet received from the competent commission in Zagreb a confirmation, necessary for independent publications, that it is neither "trash nor pornography" (certainly not because of Djilas, but rather because of the demand expressed in it that certain writers, and not just Croatian ones, be freed from prison). It is a question of the credibility, not just of individual ideas and views, but also of Djilas's personality and career. I will give only a few quotations (I was not able to say everything at the Paris Forum either):

"[...] Djilas's first article came into my hands a year or so after the war. I remember the yellowish newspaper of the old issue of BORBA that someone had brought to our house. Djilas's description of his meeting with Stalin, a panegyric to the greatest genius, not only of the present and the past, but also of the future. He wrote the following at that time (I translated the following quotes literally in front of the Forum):

"Stalin is the builder of humanity's most beautiful fate..."

"Stalin is the most caring and wisest educator of human nobility..."

"Stalin is the only statesman with a clear conscience and an unselfish heart..."

"Stalin has achieved a magnificent epic of freedom and fraternity among peoples..."

"Stalin is the most complete man..."

"He knows and sees everything..."

"Can there be a greater honor and a greater happiness than feeling that your closest and dearest friend is Stalin?"

"By loving him, the small become great and eternal, they become part of the immortal Stalin..."

(Milovan Djilas, "Lenin and Stalin on Story and Memory"), etc.

Zagreb, 1947.

"When I subsequently got hold of Djilas's book 'Conversations With Stalin' I was amazed: the great and glorious leader had turned into a petty gnome and a sinister eccentric, whom the author suddenly compared with a 'vampire,' 'Caligula,' 'Nero.' The same hand wrote one thing in BORBA and another in the above-mentioned book, and one man had seen and witnessed things in two such different and opposite ways!

"[...] Djilas completely ceased to interest me after all of that. I became interested in him again because of Miroslav Krleža, who told me about his experiences with him: about the conflict at the end of the 1930's and Djilas's role in it, about the way that he persecuted Krleža's followers, even though at the beginning of his career he was one of Krleža's followers (as early as 1948, at the podium of a party congress, he would attack Pecator's followers, especially Zvonimir Richtmann, who was shot by the Ustase in 1941!), and about his fear that 'Djido' might liquidate him if he joined the partisans before he reached Tito and the Supreme Command. He particularly described to me the scene when they first met in 1945 in Belgrade, in what were then the offices of the Central Committee (today's Madera restaurant): Krleža entered, alarmed and dejected (and, I am convinced, frightened). Djilas was standing upright, in high boots, and crudely put his foot, i.e., his boot, on a chair, kept silent for a long time in that position, and looked at him with contempt, with a desire to humiliate him. 'Djilas loved to humiliate intellectuals like that.' Who could have expected that the same person, less than a year after his fall, would write a panegyric to Miroslav Krleža in NOVA MISAO?"

"Tito confided to Krleža in one conversation—Krleža told us—about how Milovan Djilas had to be withdrawn from Montenegro, where he committed numerous acts of violence in the first year of the uprising (the list of those who had been shot allegedly came to the Supreme Command in 'installments,' and in every report there were 'dozens and dozens of new names or numbers'). I did not accept all of that without certain reservations. I knew about Krleža's 'Idiosinkrazia' against Djilas, his sensitivity to criticism that he had not joined the partisans, and his tendency toward 'literary variations

on the same theme? Later on, especially when I read the testimony presented by Vladimir Dedijer on that (the only member of the Central Committee who defended Djilas at the 1954 plenum), a lot of it seemed probable to me. After all, Djilas himself would confess in one of his books published abroad that he had 'shed the blood of other people without sparing even his own brothers,' admittedly in a quite general way, in a tone of repentance that moderates such a confession and takes away its specific content.

The "Black Ataman"

"I picture him at the beginning of the uprising as a 'black ataman,' with his head shaved in the Tatar manner, riding on a horse, casting threats on all sides and flaunting his leftism, terrifying those around him, and settling accounts (Dedijer also confirms this travesty of a 'black ataman'). I see him in 1941 in Montenegro, ruthlessly mistreating the writer Veselin Maslesa, who was expelled from the party just before the war because of a certain 'intellectualistic' weakness in his attitude toward the 'class enemy.' I have heard a great deal about Djilas as the relentless and harsh chief of Agitprop, and about his rudeness and arrogance toward his subordinates. In 'Conversations With Stalin,' I read his successful outline of a portrait of Zhdanov: it is much harder to forgive the Zhdanovism of Djilas, who was incomparably more intelligent, subtle, and familiar with the questions of culture and literature, because he knew what he was doing; he must have known. Even after the Cominform resolution, he attacked 'antihumanist' writers and artists 'like Picasso and Sartre, all sorts of cubists, surrealists, existentialists,' etc. All of this, of course, is not known by the European and American readers of his books.

"Recently I once again leafed through Djilas's books, and I discovered in them, from page to page, inconceivable contradictions, omissions, and lies; for instance, he is shocked at the way in which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia purged itself of 'Trotskyites and right-wing deviationists,' but he does not say anything about how he attacked and persecuted them himself. He regrets the fate of the democrat Milan Grol and the way in which such a 'democratic alternative was rejected' after the war, but he does not mention (except, again, in a completely general way) his own role in this. He presents the history of the emergence and activity of the Cominform, but he leaves out the fact that at the first meeting of that Stalinist institution in Szkoška Poreba in Poland, he was the main attacker of the 'deviation' of the French communists (it was then that he uttered the famous phrase equating De Gaulle and Draga Mihailovic: it was there that he also expressed the completely Stalinist accusation that 'De Gaulle was an agent of Churchill and the intelligence service.'). What can one say about some of the most recent revelations, such as the mystical divine appearance in a dream, which aroused the conscience of the inveterate atheist (like the repentance of the robber in an old Russian romance) and inspired him

in his struggle against communism? Who could have thought that it would be he, who wrote with such animation about the 'first country of socialism' and most sharply attacked 'rotten capitalism,' who would make a pilgrimage to America and even justify the war in Vietnam? What a difference and what a range: travesty, romance, epiphany. It is too much even for literature.

Alternative

"[...] I am not unaware of the reasons why Djilas has sometimes been thought of abroad as an 'alternative.' A year or so ago in Zagreb he met with some Croatian nationalists. (Such naivete is well known in the Croatian tradition...) In Belgrade he is visited by intellectuals who in any case maintain ties with nationalists and with what used to be the left. (Cases are not unknown in the political life of Serbia in which the opposition, regardless of its internal differences, stays more or less together, and waits to see how things turn out.) It is perhaps in such a context that Djilas perhaps gains the most significance, but only in appearance: I am convinced that today he is not an alternative in the true sense of that word for any rational person, in Belgrade, Zagreb, or anywhere else. Furthermore, I believe that he himself is aware of this. In 1968, the students rejected his offers and emissaries. The official journalists have not been able to reveal his contradictions to the world (in most cases they have not been up to such a task). The rare left-wing intellectuals, avoiding analogies with the regime's criticisms and critics, have not ventured to deal with him. Historical studies, preoccupied with the greatness and splendor of heroic events, have had to keep silent about certain events in the obscurity of the war, and thus about Djilas's obscure side as well. The division in the modern world has made it possible to pass from one side to another: Djilas's apostasy.

"[...] His past, from which I have taken the better part, the books in which the testimony is incomplete or one-sided, the ideas which are mainly well-known and exhausted, his lucidity, which stimulates ambition, and the ambition that obscures lucidity, his regard for himself and his lack of regard for others, a writer who has not gained recognition in literature, a politician who has renounced the policy that he advocated: Milovan Djilas. Nevertheless, I will not venture to say that he is a tragic figure. Revolutions that do not have such cases are usually too modest. Djilas cannot be separated from the history in which he participated, but he is really no alternative, either intellectual, or political, or any other kind."

I was able to present most of the above-mentioned letter to the Forum, but not all. It was apparently enough, however, I expected whistles, and not applause (which is not support for me, but for the truth about Djilas). Djilas was in the honorary chairmanship this whole time, on the speaker's platform, and was forced to give some response. He said only a few words which on this occasion left the audience very cold: that he was a

communist when he wrote what I had quoted, and that Matvejevic was writing some sort of speeches (he used the Russian word for speeches) for someone in Belgrade (I did not understand this very well, nor did the others present). While I was returning from the speaker's platform to my seat in the hall, a lady who was accompanying loudly addressed me in our language as "Filiz!" At first I wanted to answer her, something like "Dylas is a Jaffer; his hands are bloody; he humiliated the intelligentsia..." One of the better French customs requires that ladies not be answered under such circumstances. I made no response to her.

We are publishing this article out of a desire to give Dylas the opportunity, if he sees fit, to tell the truth about the shootings of which he is accused by witnesses and documents, about himself as the "black ataman," about what he has omitted in his memoirs, and why he has done so. This seems to me to be the basic prerequisite for a dialogue.

At the end of my speech I also said that I belonged to a generation which, in Yugoslavia and in the world, was seeking the whole truth, without compromise.

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Controversies in Kosovo Rock Scene Aired
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[Article by Darko Hudelist: "What Nationality Does Rock Music Belong to"]

[Excerpt] The Kosovo rock scene is especially interesting because of at least one obvious paradox: interethnic relations are refracted in it in an unexpected way precisely because rock music is international by its very nature. That is why I undertook the seemingly impossible task of gaining a closer familiarity with this paradoxical situation through altogether specific events and by talking with living people. My premises in undertaking this were as follows:

1. To get a true vision of the configuration of a particular local scene (in this case the rock scene in Kosovo) it would be enough to analyze the work of its principal protagonists. The work of one of the leading writers can have, and usually does, a greater specific weight than the work of a score in the second or third rank.

2. In many respects the most important rock groups in Kosovo are "Gjurmët" ("Traces") and "Minatori" ("Miner"). All the musicians in both groups are Albanians. Accordingly, we are dealing with the fears, hopes, and dreams of Albanian youth, which in the end is dominant in the Kosovo population.

3. Recently, both groups, especially "Gjurmët," have been leaning toward some kind of synthesis between rock and local folklore. Traces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina

trend of "a blend of rock with Turkish love songs" ("Bijelo Dugme" ["White Button"] and Co.) or something else? We shall soon see. I begin the survey by analyzing the context in which both groups operate.

A) The Market

The market for rock music in Kosovo is only now developing, just as the entire rock scene is only now developing. Although the age-specific composition of the Kosovo population would seem made to order for the expansion of rock music (60 percent are under age 27), there is no trace at all of that expansion. Why? I will give four essential reasons:

1. The immense majority of even the urban population is of peasant origin (even in the first generation), and that is accompanied by a corresponding pattern of thinking.

2. A majority of Albanians in their young years receive their musical education in local amateur cultural and artistic societies and this is moreover accompanied by the *qefeliya*, a two-string instrument considered a symbol of Albanian folk music. The *qefeliya* usually accompanies epic subject matter reminiscing on important or not so important sequences from the past of the Albanian people. Even for Pristina the *qefeliya* is much more acceptable than the electric guitar. Recently, it was the university student Nikollë Nikprelaj who taped a cassette of the folklore of the northern idiom of the Albanian region.

3. A majority of Albanian youth and especially Kosovo youth cannot boast of any purchasing power at all, and this is reflected in sales of recorded music. A music cassette costs as much in Kosovo as in Slovenia, but salaries in the two communities are not the same.

4. Many an Albanian still does not have a cassette player, that most inexpensive and widespread equipment for sound reproduction. The *qefeliya* can, of course, be heard (or played) even in the KUD [arts and culture center] that has sprung up in a rural community.

Because of all these factors the ratio of sales of cassettes containing Albanian folk music (which should not by any means be confused with so-called "newly composed folk tunes" popular in quite a large portion of Yugoslavia) and rock music ranges from 10:1 to 30:1 in favor of the "folklorists." The number of copies issued of rock musicians (the local product does not at present include phonograph records) is really symbolic. The largest and untypical sales of 6,000 copies were recorded by "Tel-ex," a Skopje group of Macedonian Albanians who won fame mainly by plagiarizing West European and American disco hits. Then come "Gjurmët" and the apolitical rock musicians "TNT" from Titova Mitrovica, led by the former solo guitarist of "YU grupa" (the YU Group) Nexhat Macula, with between 2,000 and 3,000 copies. "Led" ("Ice") from Kosovo Polje brings up the rear with 1,000 cassettes sold. The fifth and newest rock music

issue of Radio TV Pristina, "Molla me sherbet" ("Apple in the Sherbet"), done by "Minatori," has just come out on the market, and judging by the first reactions it could reach the record set by "Telex."

B) The Media

It is a well-known fact: as rock music goes, so go the media (and vice versa). Radio Pristina's Second Program began more seriously to contribute to popularization of rock music in the late seventies, and it is doing so even today, but the quality of the programming has dropped off, since the most able personnel have moved over to television. Rock music programs on Pristina television can sometimes be on a surprising level of quality thanks to the enthusiasm of a few individuals: for example, Violeta Rexhepagic. As for the press, the leading Pristina daily newspaper RILINDJA regularly covers all rock music events in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia, but there is no rock music critic who is at all well-informed or competent even on the youth newspapers. Polemics, still intolerant, are the sole type of writing about this genre of music.

The dramatic circumstances in which Kosovo rock musicians fight for their existence will be clearer if I quote the most characteristic passages of the polemics in the letters to the editors column in the pages of RILINDJA that lasted from December 1985 to February 1986. Some of the arguments made in those letters have decisive importance to understanding our topic.

Polemics About Rock Music

The debate was initiated by a letter from Halil Matoshi, university student and reporter for the newspaper BOTE E RE, who without any serious pretext made a fierce attack on rock music, writing that it "derives from the highest stage of capitalism and has experienced its culmination together with state capitalism." Since "rock music is unacceptable and alien for our economic, political, and ideological-esthetic conditions for a great majority of young people who have altogether different ideals from Western youth," Matoshi described its adherents as "deserters of the here and now." He detected the polarization of Kosovo youth into "lovers of rock music as an imported commodity" and "lovers of folklore and folk music, which is autochthonous and is not a commodity, but has artistic value." Rock music "produces coffee houses and disco clubs," and the young people who frequent them "feel alienated from social processes," which contributes "to the formation of liberal groups." What is more, it is also true that "drugs have begun to be consumed precisely in the disco clubs and coffee houses, and not in the *oda* (a large room in Albanian houses of the very old type where a sizable number of people would usually gather around the *qefeliya*; one of the symbols of the Albanian folk tradition—author's note) or at folk music concerts."

Matoshi was answered a week later by RILINDJA journalist Veton Surroi, perhaps the only member of that editorial staff who does not see rock music as the twilight of civilization. He said among other things that "the unnatural confrontation between rock music and folk music leads to an equally unnatural confrontation of coffee houses and the *oda*," which amounts only to a tacit approval of the conception that we presumably should go back to the *oda*, although it "originated precisely in feudal and clan relations." Surroi said that it was nonsense to insist on divisions into great patriots and those who are supposedly non-ethnic, just as it is an "anachronism to appeal to the *oda* for a generation which must carry out the third technological revolution." "It is in the coffee houses," he added, "that an Albanian woman has for the first time been able to be in the company of men, while she could go to the *oda* only to bring coffee and then immediately to absent herself from the room." With this reply the RILINDJA journalist only started an avalanche of new letters from readers who did not mince words in arguing that rock music is dangerous for Kosovo young people. The editors received 30 letters, only 1 among them defending at least in one passage the views of V. Surroi. The newspaper published six or seven letters, but some of the most extreme sentences (pronationalist) were omitted.

A reader from the vicinity of Pristina, for example, asked "is it through rock music that we will sing songs to the revolutionaries, about the historical dates and about those who died for freedom," adding that it is "good that we are now talking about rock music, so that tomorrow we do not pay the penalty to inferiority which is today being paid by capitalist society." A similar question was put by a university student from Uroševac who had completed the classwork, but not the examinations for his degree: "If rock music is the source, and it is, of hedonism, hipism, criminalomania, drugs, extremist ideology, moral insensitivity of young people, and mysticism, can we regard it as our social-esthetic ideal?" Of course we cannot, since it is only a "conglomerate of psychopathic prejudices of clodhoppers from the capitalist machinery of the West."

Or, as it was stated still more poetically by one Pristina sociologist of culture: "Rock music is a dish prepared in the kitchen of monopoly capitalism and it has a disgusting taste, it is served to consumers with no taste or with an undeveloped taste." One professor, who came out in favor of ethnic folklore, even quoted Plekhanov, Marx, Goethe, and finally even Maxim Gorky, who once noted down that "the people is not only the force which creates physical goods, but also the only inexhaustible source of spiritual values; the philosopher and the first poet of time, of beauty, of genius, of creativity," and so on. With words such as "humanism, cultural communication, love for man, a universal perspective," and so on, V. Surroi "had attacked other people for being dogmatists, traditionalists, and primitives, including folklorists and anachronists," and those "key words" of his "are nothing other than streams from a petty bourgeois, and

moreover cosmopolitan and bourgeois-passivist pot." Surroi, in other words, "hates the oda, since he quickly forgot that that was our first school in which many people learned our language and history for the first time." And so on....

It is not difficult to recognize in all these quotes two basic types of reflection about rock music. One, that of socialist realism, is one we are also familiar with, since some 15 years ago similar debates were conducted in our newspapers as well. But the other, which confronts rock music and ethnic folklore, favoring the latter, is specific to Kosovo (a factor of ethnopsychology) and therefore deserves somewhat greater attention.

The dichotomy referred to here actually occurs on three levels. On the first, strictly musical level, everything still seems harmless and a bit comical: rock music is set against the folk tradition, and so what? At the second level, the sociological level, though, the matter becomes somewhat more serious, not so much because of the hackneyed urban-rural division as because of that other division between the coffee house and the oda, which already sounds more original and destructive. And at the third level, the political level, all the masks fall off: *the non-ethnic is set in opposition to the national and the non-Albanian to the Albanian!* If you are a rock musician, you are a non-ethnic element, you are politically unfit and under suspicion. If you are a devotee of rock music, that means that you despise the national folklore which is the foundation of your people's cultural and national identity. How can you turn your back on your people today, when it is experiencing perhaps the most critical moments in its history? Look around you and you will see an awakening of ethnic consciousness in every atom of everyday life, what is to date the most fascinating renaissance of the people of which you are a part and whose blood you carry within you. And you? Where are you? You are a good-for-nothing of the most ordinary sort. A degenerate. A traitor.

The Dilemmas of Rock Musicians

Here are the kind of dilemmas confronted by a rock musician of Albanian nationality in Kosovo, who even if he wished could not remain indifferent toward the fundamental moral principles of his people. A musician, the composer whose drama we are minutely following, usually suffers from a guilt complex, what is more a nationality guilt complex, which tears his psychology apart and makes him unhappy and spiritually castrated. There are only three directions from the crossroads where he stands.

1. He can remain what he has been: a rock musician, a cosmopolitan, a "non-ethnic type." He will continue to be loyal to himself and he will continue to see the meaning of his existence exclusively in being a missionary for rock music in a small and underdeveloped community which has to extricate itself from the darkness of spiritual backwardness. But his guilt complex will

in that case continue indefinitely. Doesn't it seem that his "mission" is doing more harm than good to his people whom he loves and in whose renaissance he desires to take part? There is no end to his chaos.

2. He might sell his electric guitar the very next day and run to embrace the ethnic God. But if he places himself fully at the service of the collective, i.e., ethnic, consciousness, will he not be betraying himself, his purist ideals, which usually have nothing to do at all with the nationality, nor should they have? And what will be said about his "switching sides" by his friends, the colleagues with whom he has been gathering foreign records so passionately, arranging concerts, and debating the enemies of rock culture? Will he not also be a traitor, someone insensitive, an opportunist, for them?

3. He might try to be both one and the other, to reconcile the universal and the ethnic identity in himself. The point of his efforts will be an attempt to achieve what is perhaps impossible: to affirm rock music by an affirmation of Albanian ethnic consciousness and culture (and vice versa). That is the road that the most talented Albanian rock musician, Migjen Kelmendi, leader of the best Kosovo group, "Gjurmet," has started out on.

Migjen Kelmendi (age 28) is an intellectual, a lawyer, the son of the well-known Kosovo writer Ramiz Kelmendi. The history of Kosovo rock music is divided into the periods before and after "Gjurmet." In 1980 "Gjurmet" recorded its first song in Kosovo in the spirit of the new wave, which was a signal for many (potential) rock musicians to start up a fairly alive and stimulating alternative rock scene. The 20 or so Kelmendi songs recorded for Radio Pristina from 1980 to 1983 represent "Gjurmet" as a competent and trendy new wave group with an artistic and intellectualist pedigree. And, of course, with an internationalist orientation, since except for the native language in which Kelmendi wrote his lyrics, nothing in his opus suggests anything specific to Kosovo. I cannot but say that "Gjurmet's" early recordings did not fall short at all behind the early work done by the best Yugoslav new wave groups, and the fact that absolutely nothing is known about this group outside of Kosovo, nor are its songs played on radio stations outside the province, confirms the deep alienation of many Yugoslavs from what does not belong to "their own" community in the strictest sense.

Even by 1983, but especially in 1984, essential changes are notable in the group's sound and conception. The turning point was their biggest radio hit "Te gjitha rrugët çojnë në Prishtinë" ("All Roads Lead to Pristina"), in which Kelmendi, exploiting certain elements of Albanian folklore and expanding the instrumentation with a violin, wrote with gentle irony about Pristina immigrants from the country who come to the city "with empty pockets, but a full heart" and remain somewhere on the periphery without really coming into contact with the urban way of life. This anticipated the group's new conception, which might provisionally be called folk

post-new wave: it is typified by the material on their first and so far only cassette, which is entitled "Gjurmet" and was put on sale only in 1985 (a bit further on I will tell why the cassette was so long in coming).

After I listened carefully to this very interesting and worthwhile cassette, one of the best, it seems to me, in Yugoslav rock music, and after an analysis of Kelmendi's lyrics (in translation) and an interview I had with him before "Boom," I attempted to reconstruct the structure of Kelmendi's dilemmas which have led him to the new orientation. It runs like this:

The zero point of the turnaround. Kelmendi detects the wall separating rock music in Kosovo from its (potential) consumers. His songs are listened to only in a very small group of cult devotees, they have no influence on the masses. The same concerns are troubling other rock musicians in the province. The wall needs to be broken down, but how?

Phase one. An analysis of local resistance to rock music. Rock music has not been accepted because it is felt to be an import, to be alien to our (Kosovo) reality, to be politically unsuitable because it imports values inappropriate to our society.

Phase two. The answer to that analysis. It is not true that rock music is a pure import from the Anglo-American community. Rock music springs up all by itself, and does so as an effect of the corresponding changes in the way of life. Rock music is a glint (reflex, reflection, expression, product) of concrete reality in which it occurs and in which it is distributed as domestic creativity through the media.

Phase three. Defining the ultimate consequences of that response. What is the reality of which rock music in Kosovo can be an inseparable part? Kosovo reality, of course. And what is the leitmotif of that reality? The ethnic, in culture, in the entire identity of Albanians in Kosovo; exactly what people have been attempting to deny and compromise in various ways recently. So long as I am here where I am, in Kosovo, I cannot get away from that "ethnic": I recognize the reality around me solely as the need of a people for its own native identity.

Phase four. A bit of musicological elaboration of the definition above. The native folk music of any small people is firmly bound up with its cultural and ethnic identity. This especially applies to the Albanian people, which has preserved the essential characteristics of its folklore tradition even over several centuries of Turkish oppression. If its folklore also received certain Turkish influences (and that is the case), then they have been domesticated as stereotypes, since they have been assimilated into the basic structure of the archaic Albanian melos. What I have to do, then, is to rely as much as possible on that musical legacy, but at the same time not to stray and lose the legitimacy of a rock musician.

Phase five. The concretization of the elaboration through definition of certain components of Albanian folk music which at the best might enter into communication with other cultures as well. There are two such components. The first is the polyphonic way of singing in southern Albania (known as *iso*), in which sometimes an entire village joins in, people or more, each of them holding a single note to accompany the singer who is leading the singer *iso* in a way achieving solidarity with the song (and the singer). The public at a rock concert follows a rock star passively. It only repeats what the singer or group say: for example, it repeats the refrain of a song. Why should my public not support me actively, i.e., I would sing my song, and my followers would then do *iso* in the same way in which an Albanian village accompanies its leader? That is one thing, and another thing is the violin, also characteristic of the southern Albanian region. Doesn't the out-of-tune guitar of "Talking Heads" guitarist Adrian Belew sound like this violin which has been transposed as an electrical instrument? Of course it does, and that connection should be given the strongest emphasis (that is the task of Bekim Dyla, the group's solo guitarist). And thus the frame was built for the ethnic musical platform of "Gjurmet."

But on the cassette entitled "Gjurmet" Kelmendi in the end carried out his plan only halfway. What was lacking was the *iso*, but anyway he has been able to count on it mainly in concerts. And how was it at the "Boom" Festival? Kelmendi was the only one of all the Kosovo rock musicians who coaxed the public to sing with him, but what irony it is that the public only repeated his refrains. I believe that he himself was aware of the naivete of his construction about the "active" participation of rock fans in concerts, and communication of this type is also impeded by the fact that the folklore which Kelmendi is striving for is a bit alien to the young people of Kosovo. As I have already written, this is a southern Albanian tradition (that is, from the south of Albania), and not a northern tradition, a tradition which extends not only to northern Albania, but also to most of Kosovo. The southern melos, Kelmendi says, is much more gentle and melodious than the northern, which is always accompanied by the *qefeli*, and as such fits better with the group's musical conception.

As far as the lyrics on the cassette "Gjurmet" are concerned, I would single out two which are somehow the most typical and perhaps the most direct. In the song "Njeriu dhe kulla" ("The Man and the Tower") Kelmendi pointed up the Albanian's folk motif which views the world around it through eyes which are like the loopholes in the tower which in the Albanian national tradition is a symbol both of a home and also of a fortification (an allusion to the permanent struggle of Albanians for freedom). In another song, "Te shtrire mbi kanape" ("Lying on the Couch"), Kelmendi combines two thematic entities: the Albanian people's aspiration for independence and its inner hope that one day there will be an end to the hard times which nevertheless have now befallen us all together.

I have been listening to the rain, the walls are pressing in on me, I have been waiting for you, I have been hearing your steps... You and I lying on the couch, We have been waiting for a new day when it will not be raining, We will build a tower And there will only be the two of us under its roof... I release the bird To fly away And bring us back the sun...

I mentioned earlier that the cassette "Gjurmët" was a year late, and the reason for this was primarily the design of the jacket with the stylized folk motif of the "Eagle's Dance" in which a pair of folk dancers suggest a two-headed eagle by the characteristic pose of their bodies. After a long tug-of-war the cassette's producers did not accept that design, and the cassette came out with the standard group portrait of the musicians, in which, to be sure, Migjen Kelmendi is enigmatically looking at his watch. The message was this: the cassette came out at the 11th hour.

Kelmendi experienced yet another incident a bit earlier, when the hit "All Roads Lead to Pristina" was constantly spinning at Radio Pristina. "One of our cultural bureaucrats" (I have learned that this was the director of RILINDJA at the time) attacked that song because its lyrics mentioned the folk instrument the *qafelija*, which according to him was a direct association with the national romanticism of the Albanians. After his criticism, the song ceased to be played over the radio. This "cultural bureaucrat," however, later learned that the author of the lyrics was no one other than the son of his acquaintance, the writer Ramiz Kelmendi. When he met him (the father) the first time, he told the whole story of his "hastiness," and when a TV spot with Migjen's hit was broadcast even over television. In the spot, Kelmendi, jr., is reading RILINDJA, and then he folds it up and nonchalantly puts it under his arm.

In that way the principal creator of "Gjurmët" bore witness in a rather unpleasant way of the absurdity of his impossible synthesis. RILINDJA, which in the debate about rock music suggested through readers' letters a return to the oda and to folklore, imposed itself on this occasion, through its prominent representative, as the fiercest critic of that return, thereby demonstrating that in life everything is always relative, since no matter what road you take, someone is going to pound you on the head sooner or later, in fact that person from whom you least expect it.

Who Is Gjinoçvi Addressing?

Naser Gjinoçvi (age 27), leader of the group "Minatori," is a student of the law school who has finished his classwork but not his examinations. His father is an employee in the Social Accounting Service, working with computers, and we can conclude from that alone that rock musicians in Kosovo mostly come from the "better," intellectual families. In its early days "Minatori" ("Miner") was mildly reminiscent of "Laibach." The group got started within the KUD of a local mine in

Kishnica, and Gjinoçvi dedicated its first semihit "Me fat ndrrimi minator" ("Have a Good Shift, Miners"), which has intonations of socialist realism, to his friends from the underground mines. Nazmi Mustafa, the mine's general director, purchased the boys all the necessary instruments as a token of gratitude, and thus the group was enabled to make a breakthrough of some considerable size.

Before its first cassette came out, a cassette promoted at this year's "Boom," "Minatori" functioned as a compact hard-rock group always ready to intrigue the public with lyrics which are provocative by Kosovo standards, but also with unsentimental rock love ballads. But even the opening beats of the first cut on the cassette "Molla me sherbet," "A thua enderr je ti" ("Are You Only a Dream"), show that "Minatori" has this time also been resorting to folklore forms, but in a different way from "Gjurmët." The melody, which stays in the ear even at the first hearing is not of Albanian, but of oriental (Turkish) pedigree. Naser's oversight or a conscious paraphrase?

The latter, of course, and in fact a paraphrase, as he himself put it, of the "slick pop" that is heard in the coffeehouses where the slag workers gather. On his album Gjinoçvi consistently pursued the conception of folk rock, without Kelmendi's desire to get into problematization of the national identity of Albanians. This does not mean, however, that he has remained ice cold to the circumstances in which he lives and that he is apolitical. Just the opposite, his lyrics are at times saturated with very acute social observations in which, although he himself is not of worker origin, regularly takes the side of the humiliated manual workers and the new arrivals from the provinces.

"I am not addressing a mirror," he said, "but the people, and my first intention is to reproduce its sentiments in the most sincere way. I have been discovering a latent song which it has long been carrying within it, but has never been able to sing out loud." So, not a national program, but a social program within a national program—in that case, yes. That is how one might briefly define Gjinoçvi's point of departure.

Perhaps the most typical sources of his approach to rock are the love ballads of which there are many on the cassette. In writing the lyrics, Naser first takes a finished universal model, the one which seems to him "the most rockish" (in this case it happens to be Bregovic's standards, that is, the Yugoslav standards), but then he still modifies it and adapts it to certain peculiar features of Kosovo. An Albanian who in his lyrics is courting an Albanian girl belongs to a lower social stratum and the relation will have to be dissolved because of the firm patriarchal restraints (it is thought that in Kosovo at least 70 percent of love connections end in a breakup because the pair are not of equal birth, i.e., of the same

economic status). We see how this kind of courting appears to a girl from the "higher strata" in the title song of the album "Molla me sherbet" ("Apple in the Sherbet"):

My fairy swallow, You and I will think of something. After all, when it comes to beauty, I have no equal. And if I am a bit sooty, soap will wash me clean. Why do you tell me that I am black. Just like your cheeks sugared like apples. Poor me, they are all I think about, Give me that cheek to bite into.

In the song "Udha e mbare" ("Have a Good Trip") Gjinovci, intruding in the role of a medium for the "lower strata," writes about the parting that had to occur by force of circumstance. Unfortunately, the translations are not the most faithful, since it is impossible to find appropriate expressions in the Croatian or Serbian language for Naser's frequent borrowings from archaic peasant speech.

Have a good trip, perhaps you will find something better. Have a good trip, now you are a free woman. You can go where I never could take you. You can have what I have never been able to offer. You can do what you like, Since you were not meant for me.

Gjinovci does not, of course, write only about the problems of love, but when he tackles more delicate themes, political themes, for example, then he usually has unresolvable problems with the strict Kosovo censorship. The song "Amerika" speaks about unemployed Albanians who go off to manual labor in the United States by way of the "Mexican connection" which has such a bad name, and usually all trace is then lost of them. Part of the first verse of that song, as it was before it was censored, went like this:

Marijuana, LSD, Al Capone on every corner. A black cowboy in the White House is playing with the world like a beginner.

On the cassette "White House" was replaced by "United States," and the entire line "Marijuana, LSD" by "The situation there is worse than empty." Some of the lyrics of Gjinovci's older songs recorded for the radio, like "Vokri, Vokri," dating from 1984, have fared similarly. Here is a part of the original version of that obviously metaphorical text:

In front of my building they play soccer every night. The tenants call the police, but we keep on playing out of spite.... At the beginning there were only warnings And some words from the upper stories. But then telephones were dialed And the "blues" have started to come....

Here the part of the line "The tenants call the police" was changed to "The tenants came out and complained," "upper stories" was changed to "eighth floor," and "the blues" have started to come" was changed to "the comrades have been coming." There is actually no

official censorship in Kosovo, just as there is no commission to maintain cultural standards, but still there is Rifat Kukaj, the children's writer whom Radio-TV Pristina has hired as an outside consultant supposedly as a style editor so that the lyrics of the "illiterate" rock musicians would not crawl with spelling and grammatical mistakes. Before going to the studio to record his composition (for the radio, television, or cassette—it makes no difference) the rock musician must present his brand new text to Kukaj for him to check it. Aside from the grammar, he usually pays a little attention to the content of the lyrics as well, and it is rare for any very committed attempt to escape his scissors. They say of Kukaj that he is the mortal enemy of all rock musicians in the province, which is probably why they call him the "Karate Kid."

In any case, there is a separate category of rock songs recorded for the radio consisting of those which did in fact get the green light, but to the misfortune of their authors, they had three exclamation points attached to them. This means that the song in question can be broadcast exclusively on entertainment programs, i.e., "unserious" programs, but by no means on what are called "serious" programs, on the radio's First Program. On one occasion someone on a program which had a guest who is a distinguished municipal or Kosovo politician put on nothing other than Gjinovci's song "Idioti mi" ("Idiot Mine") done by the group "Minatori," a song which had been labeled with the "!!!". The appropriate powers immediately reacted to this, and the song was immediately "silenced" on the radio. And it was given three exclamation points because it supposedly offended the authority of the male in a patriarchal community:

I remember when we walked the streets of Pristina. She used to say to me: "You are, you are, my idiot."

Principal Preoccupations

In conclusion, a few more words about the preoccupations of the handful of other important rock musicians in Kosovo who are in the forefront at the moment. After "Gjurmet" and "Minatori" there was felt to be a void for quite a long time, but perhaps it will soon be filled by the young Pristina post-new wave ensemble "Lindja" ("Birth") led by Luan Osmani. "Lindja" also sings about problems typical of the Kosovo region. Their song "Nje bashqe me lule" ("The Flower Garden") speaks about Albanians from Kosovo who use their connections to emigrate to Italy and get involved with the Mafia, and when they come back home in expensive automobiles and with brightly colored suits, no one seems to be their equal. The lyrics are written in the first person and in two languages, Albanian and Italian, and they suggest the nostalgia of the newly created mafioso for his homeland:

In my garden there are two flowers. One green, and the other red. I caress them, I embrace them and adore them. But I cannot stand it.... Italy and my flowers, Italy and its prisons, Italy and my dreams.

The nostalgia theme is also dominant in the song of the founder of "Ilir" Shemsi Krasniqi, "Ne kyrbet" ("Abroad"), which still has not gotten through Kukaj's "editing," so that this is perhaps a unique occasion to familiarize ourselves with Krasniqi's poetry as he originally wrote it:

I grew up on the peaks of Sar Mountain, I drank water at the Emperor's fountain. A potpourri of feelings are awakened in me When I hear a Kosovo girl singing. Lay me down in the Prokletija Mountains, lay me down, Prosper, oh Kosovo, oh Kosovo.

There is much talk in Pristina about the group "Bankrot" ("Bankruptcy") of Leka Dukagjini (that is his real name, not a stage name), but not so much because of his songs as because of the "Lajbach" artistic pictures which he showed the public at a recent alternative exhibition in Rijeka. In one picture, in which Leka's signature is very like that of Tito (they say that this is his real autograph, that it was not tampered with), one sees three persons with covered eyes, and everything is intensified by a combination of green and red colors. I have tried to get to see Leka somehow, but he has persistently avoided me, obviously fearing publicity, since he has already had problems with journalists precisely because of that exhibition in Rijeka. This year the first female pop group in Kosovo was also established in Pristina and took the name "Tempujt e heshtjes" ("Temples of Silence"); at present it consists of four high school girls who only sing, and their theme is romantic love.

The Serbian and Croatian rock musicians who live and play their music in province have in a way a common "platform," and strangely this is an apolitical and disinterested attitude, at least in their songs, concerning the problems which they nevertheless do face. The group "Pascad" ("Puppies"), which was founded by a young general practitioner Aleksandar Jovanovic, did attempt for a time, it is true, what was called "new katunarism" (in Albanian "katunar" means "peasant"), which was supposed to be the Pristina answer to the Sarajevo new primitivism, but it soon fell apart. Then the Gypsy ensemble "Jag," just like many Albanian groups, sings without restraint about its own ethnos, arranging in the heavy metal roar stereotypical pictures from the history of the Gypsies:

My tent is burning, so let it burn, That is the luck we have, Gypsy misfortune. Where are you, my Gypsies, why are you not here tonight, Beside the cold tents, beside the hot fire. Only the old cleaners are left, The old beggars and the old porters.

The only problem is that "Jag" has two versions of that song, one in Romany and the other in the Serbo-Croatian language, but before performances they can never decide on the real one. Again this time, at the "Boom'87" Festival they thought it over for a long time, and I do not know how it finally came out. Only indecipherable shouts reached my ears in the Pristina auditorium, where the acoustics are not exactly wonderful.

07045

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Ship Production for 1987 Reported

23000044 Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German
13 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Dieter Strobel: "1987 Shipbuilding Review—50 New Ships, 40 Percent Refits"]

[Text] In 1987, the GDR shipyards, which are operated in the Shipbuilding Combine, delivered a total of 50 new ships with a gross tonnage totalling 330,729 GT (gross tonnage in place of the previously customary GRT, derived from the English term "gross tonnage") and a cargo capacity of 299,192 tons. In the process, the product structure, especially in the case of fishing vessels, was altered according to plan.

The resulting 50 new ships are based on 16 types of ocean-going vessels; 6 of these were built for the first time, with a total production of 20 (!) units. This combine strategy, which is in keeping with market requirements, is also illustrated by the above-average refitting rate of more than 40 percent.

We note that 82 percent of the new vessels, in terms of register tons, were exported. The Soviet Union, the main customer, purchased 53 percent of the tonnage or 31 vessels. The SFR [Socialist Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia, Liberia, Bahama, and Holland—the latter as an additional, and by now the 44th, customer country—also bought ships from the GDR in 1987.

A total of 12 vessels were delivered to domestic ship owners compared with 10 in 1986.

VEB Deutfracht/Seereederei Rostock (DSR-Lines) received the VCS (full container vessels) Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck for 1,166 containers (TEU [20-ft container unit, derived from the English term 20-ft equivalent unit]) and a cargo capacity of 19,710 tons for each of them, as well as the multipurpose container vessel Havelland (900 TEU, 17,088 ton cargo capacity) of the Aequator type.

The following ships were delivered to the Rostock Fishing VEB [state enterprise]: five refrigerator trawlers based on the proven Atlantik 333 series as fishing and factory vessels named ROS 803 Werner Niedermeier, ROS 804 Albert Glass, ROS 805 Manfred Skaun, ROS 806 Wilhelm Ruegheimer, ROS 807 Otto Wickboldt, as well as the fishing research vessel Ernst Haeckel.

The three 794-ton motor freighters Rostock, Stralsund, and Wismar were built for the Inland Shipping and Waterways Combine.

The outstanding achievements of the year 1987 include the following:

—The full container vessels of the Saturn type were developed in keeping with the GDR research concept called "ship of the future" as part of the "Maritime Industry" science production cooperation program. VEB Warnowwerft Warnemuende turned VCS Ernst Thaelmann over to DSR on 27 May 1987 and VCS Wilhelm Pieck on 28 September 1987. The ships completed their long-range maiden voyages on the Rostock—Colombo—Rostock run, each setting records.

—Delivery of MV Kurpes, the first unit in the Passat type multipurpose container vessel series (TEU/18,050 tdw). The Rostock Diesel Engine Plant contributed the model RTA 58 long-stroke, crosshead engine, with a specific fuel consumption of 175 g/kwh, built for the first time on the basis of a Sulzer license, as main requirement, to this energy-optimized freighter generation.

On 30 October 1987, the Yugoslav Shipping Company Jugooceanija Kotor accepted the modifiable ship type developed by Warnowwerft Warnemuende under shipyard serial number 275, of which three will be built in 1988 while additional units will be built by 1990.

—Completion of the first ship of the series UCC 14 (1,034 TEU/14,165 tdw) by VEB Mathias-Thesen Shipyard in Wismar. This ship type can be employed in a flexible manner in terms of ship size and cargo on the international charter market; it offers an optimum combination of the characteristics of an full container vessel with those of a multipurpose freighter. The RTA 58 engine (7,959 kw) and the thyristor-controlled 800-kw shaft generator ensure optimum ship operation. UCC "Ville de Venus" was accepted by Joon-Shipping and Trading B.V. Amsterdam on 18 December 1987 and has already been chartered successfully.

—The series of 12 scientific fishing research vessels of the Atlantik 833 type completed by the Stralsund Volkswerft between 6 March and 28 August 1987. Sailing from the Soviet fishing bases at Murmansk, Kaliningrad, Kerch, and Vladivostok, these research vessels, which are equipped with 15 laboratories and have multipurpose applicability, are performing a variety of scientific tasks needed to guarantee the food production program of the USSR.

—Completion of the Ten Series of Ro-Ro vessels of the Trailer type (6,894 GT, 4,673 tdw) for the USSR by the Neptun Shipyard in Rostock with the delivery of Nikolay Chernyshevskiy.

—The delivery by the Stralsund Volkswerft of the first series-model factory trawler, construction No 802, Ivan Burmistrov, which has its home port in Kerch, a job that required a maximum effort. —The delivery of another two EGF (railroad freightcar ferries), designed for an annual transportation capacity of 900,000 tons, which can stow up to 103 wide-gauge freightcars on two decks with a total length of 1,578 m, by Mathias-Thesen Shipyard in Wismar.

New Ships Built in 1987, By Ship Types

Ship Type	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage GT	Capacity t
Freighters	23	200,266	239,495
All-container and multipurpose container vessels	10	146,244	181,831
ro-ro and lo-ro ships	4	45,574	45,046
Lake, inland freighters	6	8,448	10,236
Inland freighters	3	—	2,382
Fishing vessels	21	68,753	33,874
Catch and factory vessels	6	17,240	7,045
Research vessels	13	26,693	8,127
Refrigerator vessels	2	24,820	18,702
Miscellaneous	6	61,710	25,823
Railroad freightcar ferries	2	43,600	23,800
Inland passenger vessels	3	16,029	1,440
Floating bucket-chain dredges	1	2,081	583
Total	50	330,729	299,192

New Ships Built in 1987, By Shipyards

Shipyard	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage GT	Capacity t
VEB Warnowwerft Warnemuende	7	109,519	129,497
VEB Mathias-Thesen-Werft Wismar	6	96,966	79,912
VEB Schiffwerft "Neptun" Rostock	6	55,834	60,553
VEB Volkswerft Stralsund	19	43,933	15,172
VEB Elbwerften Boizenburg/Rossau	12	24,477	14,058
Total	50	330,729	299,192

EGF Klaipeda was accepted by the Lithuanian Shipping Company for the Mukran—Klaipeda ferry link on 27 June 1987 and EGF Vilnius was accepted on 30 October 1987.

—GDR shipyards furthermore delivered the following new units of successful ship type programs that have been proving their efficiency for a long time.

On 30 December 1987, the Mathias-Thesen Shipyard in Wismar delivered KTS [refrigerator transport vessel] Pamyat Kirova, which has its home port in Murmansk, as the 51st refrigerator freighter (13,300 cubic meters, 9,351 tdw) of the ship generation series Polar/Kristall I/II.

On 30 September 1987, the Inland Shipping Fleet of the USSR accepted Sergey Kirov, which has its home port in Leningrad, as the 36th inland passenger vessel (with 360/332 cabin spaces); on 31 December 1987, it accepted CTK-1031, built by VEB Elbwerften Boizenburg/Rossau, as the 63rd inland lake freighter of type CBK (1,706 tdw).

On 30 September, the Mathias-Thesen Shipyard in Wismar completed a successful series, modified several times since 1972 and delivered to shipping companies in 11 countries, in the form of "Fremo Scorpian," the 34th OBC (16,569 GT, 17,850).

On 30 November 1987, the Maritime Fleet of the USSR accepted MV Baltiysk, which has its home port in Leningrad, from Warnowwerft Warnemuende as the 15th Lo-Ro vessel.

In 1987, the Neptun Shipyard in Rostock delivered Bagrat Zakhavyan to the USSR; this is the 11th maritime floating bucket chain dredge (750 cubic meters/hr, at a depth of 12 m).

The Berlin Yacht Shipyard increased the size of its series to 56 with another 10 inland passenger vessels carrying 124/164 daytime excursionists. Eleven ships of this type are also being used effectively in Czechoslovakia.

Overall, the republic's shipbuilders once again achieved noteworthy results in building new ships, thus displaying their great devotion to their work and chalking up additional results in 1987. It was thus possible to start production on highly-improved units that will determine the industry's export achievements over the next several years and to develop the ship equipment required for this.

05058

POLAND

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 'Briefs' Column

Last Week in Poland

26000195d Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 7, 14 Feb 88 p 2

[Excerpts] **Publication Prices Noted**—As of 15 February the price of newspaper editions published on weekdays is 15 zloty and 30 zloty for magazine editions published on weekends.

Local Autonomy Issues Reviewed—The Party-Government Commission on Review and Modernization of Organizational Structures of the Economy and State reviewed the provisions of amendments to the law on the system of people's councils and regional self-management. Tied to these terms, which provide for major expansion of the powers (especially financial powers) of local authorities in solving important social problems, is another issue raised by the Commission—the plan to reform the health care and social security systems.

Job Openings Decrease—At the end of last year, enterprises advertised nearly 392,000 job openings; 267,000 positions remained unfilled. This is slightly less than the year before, when requests for 420,000 employees were issued and 288,000 of these positions were unfilled, but the demand for workers is still very high.

Oil Deposits Estimated—Specialists estimate that there are possibilities for an annual yield of about 2 million tons of crude oil from the Polish coastal shelf, an amount several times greater than that obtained in good times from Polish land deposits.

Retail Trade Statistics—About 1.2 million people, more than 70 percent of them women, work in domestic retail trade. Half of all retail workers are less than 35 years old.

Regional Association Activities—In Poland there are 1,015 regional associations involved in cultural activity, periodical publishing, arranging exhibits and concerts and producing films that document the customs and traditions of various regions of Poland. They also carry on conservation and ecological work.

Energy Conservation Alternatives—Projects that received awards in the final phase of the competition to conserve fuel and energy permitted reduction of coal consumption corresponding to 112,000 tons of conventional fuel. The implementation of all proposals brought a total savings of 558,300 tons of conventional fuel. Achieving these results did not require major investments. One ton of conventional fuel "cost" 3,105 zloty.

Cooperation Agreement Signed—"Metalexport" signed a cooperation agreement with the "Scharmann" firm of Moenchengladbach in West Germany on cooperation in manufacturing by the most modern tooling centers. Polish participants in the agreement are the H. Cepielski Works in Poznan and the "Mechanicy" firm from Pruszkow.

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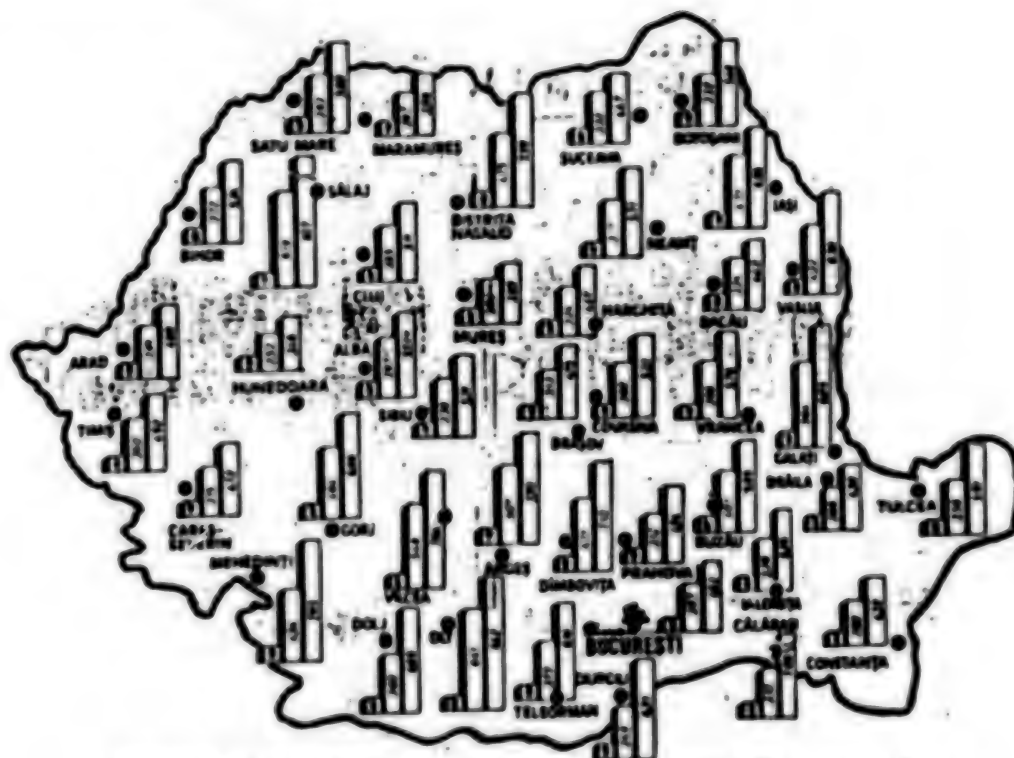
ROMANIA

Economic, Demographic Statistics Since 1965

27000055 Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian

12 Feb 88 pp 12-13

[Article by Liana Molnar: "Growth of the Economic Strength of the Fatherland's Counties"]



Graphic of Total Volume of Economic Activity for the Years 1965, 1985, and 1990
(growth is expressed in lei per inhabitant)

[Text]

Growth of the Economic Strength of the Fatherland's Counties

"Let us look at the socioeconomic map of our country, at the new towns, communes, and industrial sites!" Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, urged us a few days ago from the lofty forum of the Plenum of the National Council of Working People.

Viewing the new image of our country we realize the enormous changes that have occurred in recent years under our very eyes. From the very beginning, the demographic organization, the development and modernization of the country's localities, and the organization and establishment of a certain framework designed to ensure a high level of civilization have constituted

part and parcel of a coherent, long-term strategy of comprehensive development of the country and of raising the people's material and cultural well-being.

Based on the profoundly scientific conception of the RCP and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and consistently promoted throughout the period following the ninth congress, the policy of harmonious regional development and of rational and even distribution of the production forces was organically blended with an extensive process of national and local systematization and of providing each area with the material basis required to ensure complete socioeconomic equality among all the citizens of socialist Romania. Incontestably, Romania's unprecedented development would not have been possible without taking into account the objective need to markedly increase the production forces, something that permitted the rapid growth of all the aspects of the socioeconomic life.

In his magisterial report to the RCP National Conference of 14-16 December 1987, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the historic successes attained by our people in building a socialist society. By the end of the past year industrial production was 120 times larger than in 1945, as a natural consequence of the considerable investments made and of the construction of major industrial enterprises and sites. As a result of the socialist organization of the agricultural sector and of the investments made in it, not only did agricultural production increase almost nine times over, but the life of the working people living in our villages changed radically. Similarly, the national revenues increased approximately 33 times, the national wealth 20 times, and the working people's remuneration about 13 times over. In the course of this on-going development, a decisive point was undoubtedly marked by the RCP National Conference of 1967 and the new territorial-administrative organization of the country. "This year," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "we mark 20 years since the territorial-administrative reorganization of the country, the discontinuation of the districts and regions, the simplification of the territorial-administrative system, and the establishment of the counties as the basic units of regional activity. Life has fully verified the correctness of those measures! It was precisely because of those measures that we were able to ensure a more rational distribution of the production forces throughout the country, the harmonious development of all the areas, and the establishment of the best possible conditions for socioeconomic development and for ensuring complete equality of rights for all the citizens of our fatherland."

Attention has been continuously paid to closing the gaps between the levels of socioeconomic development of the various counties and to rapidly developing those lagging behind. The complex and efficient utilization of their material and human potential has yielded results. Thus, currently the overall volume of economic activities comes to 80.1-100 billion lei in 17 counties, and to over 100 billion in 15 others. Let us not forget that in 1968 the volume of economic activities was less than 40 billion lei in 34 of our counties. Significantly, the entire industrial production of 1965 is currently achieved in less than 2 months.

The extensive program of irrigation and land amelioration achieved in the agricultural sector, the implementation of the most recent achievements of the agricultural sciences, and the modernization of the livestock sector have led to the achievement of continuously larger agricultural outputs.

The intensive development of the key branches of the economy, the growth of the raw materials and energy basis, and the intensification and modernization of passenger and freight transportation are all reflected in the changes that have occurred in the social structure, the increased number of employed people, and their distribution according to branches of activity. Approximately 3.2 million jobs were created in non-agricultural

branches just in the period following the ninth party congress, many of them in counties which initially had been at a lower level of economic development: Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Covasna, Dumbovita, Gorj, Salaj, Vaslui, and Vilcea.

The complex process of development and judicious and even distribution of the production forces throughout the country were accompanied by intensive systematization and urbanization activities. Planned and implemented on the initiative and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the national program of territorial systematization promotes a new and modern concept that is also integrated within the strategy of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. The intensive process of reconstruction and modernization has incorporated the entire country. Social-cultural and urban establishments, and modern and comfortable housing are now visible everywhere, in every corner of the country.

As a complex phenomenon, the urbanization process cannot be gauged just by the fact that urban populations have increased. It must certainly be considered from the viewpoint of the structural changes that have affected all the localities. Civilization and comfort are now the main traits of each locality in our new fatherland. "We must keep in mind," RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "the fact that the differences between the working and living conditions of rural and urban working people must be eradicated by raising the living standard of the villages. Urbanization does not mean a greater population concentration in the existing cities, but raising the living conditions in the communes to the level of those available in urban localities."

While in 1965 Romania had only 183 towns, now we have 237. The population of municipalities and towns has also grown: from 5.7 million to 11.8 million, making up 51 percent, as opposed to 30 percent of the overall population in 1965. Aside from cities such as Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Ploiesti, and Iasi, multifunctional towns and urban centers with over 200,000 inhabitants have also developed, among them are: Craiova, Constanta, Brasov, and Galati. Important industrial sites located in towns such as Pitesti, Piatra Neamt, Bacau, Slatina, Rimnicu Vilcea, Tirgu Jiu, and Slobozia have transformed these formerly small provincial towns into important, fast-paced industrial and social-cultural centers. New mining centers have appeared on our map: Motru, Rovinari, Balan, Moldova Noua, Bors, Baia Sprie, and Cavnic, which have become strong worker towns.

A considerable number of rural localities are also undergoing a process of urbanization. Important industrial investment projects, social-cultural and urban establishments, and modern and comfortable housing have transformed localities such as Colibasi (Arges County), Sascut (Bacau County), Pecica (Arad County), Ianca (Braila County), Plenita (Dolj county), and Podul Iloaiei (Iasi

County) into genuine agricultural-industrial or industrial-agricultural towns. The majority of our country's towns are now modern centers in which new elements blend harmoniously with specific features. In the past 22 years two thirds of the urban population moved into new apartments; more than 750,000 apartments were built just in the course of the 1981-85 5-year plan. New nurseries and kindergartens, general schools and lyceums, institutes of higher education, clinics and hospitals, cultural and other clubs, art establishments, and commercial and service facilities have been built everywhere. Parks, athletic fields, and playgrounds attest to the efforts made to enhance both esthetics and daily comfort. Looking at the new map of our country we cannot help dwelling, even briefly, on the capital city and its extensive urban restructuring. Impressive projects such as the metro, the complex Dimbovita project, road underpasses, and the new political and administrative center attest to the fact that by the year 1990 the largest Romanian city will become an ultramodern capital worthy of the new socialist Romania. "On the basis of our achievements to date," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent plenum of the National Council of Working People, "we are entitled to point out the correctness of the party's policy and our people's great achievements in building socialism. They demonstrate the creative force of a nation that has forever eliminated exploitation and inequality, has become fully master of its destiny, and is freely and consciously building its socialist and communist future."

12782

YUGOSLAVIA

Zagreb Food Supply Situation for 1988 Viewed

*28000039 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
15 Nov 87 p 7*

[Article by Diana Setka: "Supplies in 1988: Shelves Full of Uncertainty"]

[Text] "Ask Vava! You must be joking! Surely you don't believe that it's actually possible to predict, or even guarantee? What will be, will be..." Such were the initial reactions of Zagreb supply experts to the question of what awaits us through the end of the year and what the situation will be in the year ahead.

In view of the fact that agriculture continues to be plagued by unknown quantities and illogic, it is indeed difficult to provide any prognoses whatsoever, but it is quite clear that things will not be easy either for the producers or for the consumers.

The people have had enough of the wailing and whining of supply experts. What do they care about the difference between the guaranteed and purchase price of wheat and losses suffered by millers and bakers? To them, bread is too expensive, and nothing else matters. Consumers do not care if someone is constantly trying to defend their

standard through some sort of administrative measure when this defense is backfiring on them. Supply experts, however, increasingly shrug their shoulders and say, "If we do not have to have bread, milk and meat, then we will not produce it." What they really mean by this is that they have had enough of losses and of covering them out of their own inadequate pockets while no one else is pulling their load. Merchants are also angry, and are even thinking about selling on consignment. Several large department stores have already sent their suppliers instructions to the effect that they not send them goods until they are ordered, but mention was also made of the fact that consideration is being given to payment after sale. Thus, new goods should be sent only once the old goods are sold in order to avoid storage costs, and payment according to sales. Or to simplify—emptier store counters and a more difficult situation for producers. Throughout this entire ruse, where everyone manages to get by as he knows best, one need not be overly cunning to realize that bright and sunny days do not await us in the coming year.

Milk and Stresses

Zagreb supply experts are well-prepared to avoid supply problems in the month and a half ahead. The balance sheet of the city's needs for the coming year has been completed, and everyone considers it very realistic and feasible. A quiet beginning to the new year is expected, but everything else largely depends on moves that always surprise us and sometimes create such problems that there is talk of stressful conditions. The following must be ensured next year for Zagreb alone: 85,000 tons of bread and rolls, 15,000 tons of flour, 14,000,000 liters of oil, 1,200 tons of lard, 29,000 tons of sugar, 33,000 tons of fresh meat, 5,000 tons of fish, 68,000 tons of vegetables, 35,000 tons of fruit, 16,000 tons of citrus fruit, 68,000,000 liters of milk, 105,000,000 eggs, 3,000 tons of coffee and 13,000 tons of powdered detergent. One of the conditions for this plan being realized is that the planned volume of production and turnover be achieved, which is something that no one can guarantee under the current conditions, where there are no raw materials, intermediate goods, major disparities and waits for import permits.

Will there be any milk? They say that there should be, but again with a qualification: if there are no stresses, such as an embargo on imports. Specifically, the problems in the dairy industry are growing every day. Everything that is being said about milk in the sense of "we must improve conditions, motivate producers, promote production, stop the decline in buying up or, even better, increase purchasing power" are only empty words, because all the measures taken achieve the exact opposite. And the facts attest to this. From the evidence provided by the secretary of the dairy plenum of the Business Association for Cattle-Breeding in Zagreb, Stjepan Denes, it is quite clear that in the 10 months of 1987, the purchase of milk in the individual sector fell by 3.8

percent, compared to the same period last year. However, it should be noted that purchase in 1986 was 10 percent less than in 1985. Looking at the overall picture, the buying up of milk in this period from the private and social sectors combined was three percent less than in the same period last year.

Also worrisome is the drastic fall in September and October (11 percent), during the very months in which more milk was purchased last year. The production of semi-hard and hard cheeses, "powdered goods" and butter also fell off, in some cases by as much as 20 percent. Denes says that a lessening of the problems in the supply of milk and dairy products could be achieved, but that this will probably not be experienced. Zagreb could be lacking in these products a little more than others, but dairies in Ljubljana, Celje and Maribor, which are continually attempting to penetrate the Zagreb market, could close this gap. Nevertheless, one thing should be noted. Milk production is utterly prohibitive. The farmer can sell only that which his children, kittens and puppies do not drink, or that he does not throw out. Dairies thus stretch to make ends meet, live hand to mouth with foils, powders and packaging material. "Dukat" can still manage today in all this, but no one can attempt the impossible.

"Unseemly" Exotics

As far as meat is concerned, however, the problems are much greater. There is no meat, and there will be even less in the future. Once again, parity, interest on credit, reevaluation and free versus controlled prices are in question. In general terms, the idea of expensive and inexpensive meat is tragically ludicrous, because the consequences of concern for the consumer are always borne by the consumer himself. There are no cheaper parts in the stores. And why should there be, when they can be used in expensive sausages? But for the time being, we defend the standard and for punishment we get only loins and legs, because there is no other meat. There is enough poultry for now, and even if it has become more expensive and will continue to be so when prices thaw, it is the most inexpensive meat, together with suckling pig. It is almost certain that there will not be meat and that when the ice melts prices will rise rapidly. The question arises of who will be able to buy meat once there is any. Especially in the future, when prices of as much as 20,000 dinars for loin are announced.

"Voce" has seen to it that there is enough citrus fruit. Two ships will bring bananas from Ecuador each month, and one of them is unloading so that these bananas should appear in the stores one of these days. This year, a quota of 30,000 tons has been approved, but that is still a low level of consumption—a kilogram and a half per person. The developed world eats eight to ten kilograms, and even some eastern countries are ahead of us. The season for lemons, oranges and grapefruit starts at the beginning of December.

Imports of oranges next year will total 61,500 tons, 10 percent more than this year, together with 40,000 tons of lemons, 10,000 tons of grapefruit and a planned 45,000 tons of bananas. What about other tropical fruits? The plan includes three million dollars for pineapples, avocados, kiwi fruits, dates, coconuts and Indian walnuts, but it will in fact be difficult to import these fruits, for purely political reasons. Marketing is marketing, and the situation in which we find ourselves is in no sense simple; importers simply do not want to bring their goods into a situation that strikes them as stupid when at the same time there are no raw materials, intermediate goods and other things in the country.

They are satisfied at "Franck" this year, because there were no problems with supplying the market. The position of coffee on the foreign-currency rank list improved, and thanks to barter deals, it was possible to import adequate amounts. Even though these imports are often not only covered but even excessively covered, no one is criticizing it, because the most important thing is that there are no problems on the market. Thanks to the system finally discovered, "Franck," like the other Yugoslav processors, this year processed the largest amount of coffee in the last decade. Coffee is more expensive these days because of the differences in the rate of exchange. And next year? At "Franck" they are saying that it all depends on the price of coffee on the world market, the rate of exchange, the payment period and something else, but in reality not in the least on any them. Because "Franck" will still continue to get 600 dinars "net" from a kilogram of coffee.

Losses in Oil

There will be enough bread. The deputy director of "Zagreb Bakers," Ivan Uhernik, says that there is an adequate supply of wheat, and so there will be no problems with flour. Recently, there has also been enough so-called cheap bread, even in the afternoon. However, producers will not accept losses in this type of bread. They are trying to raise its price to 300 dinars, instead of the current 190. Even that, however, is not a real price. Costs have jumped since July, because electricity, gas and transportation have become more expensive, so that 36 dinars are still being lost per kilogram. In other words, the promised drop in the price of special bread is not happening. Still, if it is any consolation, there will be no change in the price of bread through the end of the year unless there is a stronger push on costs. Another 10 percent should be added for next year, but this should not be taken for granted, because the price depends largely on the purchase price of wheat.

The vice chairman of the Management Board at "Josip Kras," Zivko Jakovljevic, says that all raw materials are guaranteed through the end of the year. The only possible problem is with cocoa beans. Specifically, import has been approved, the guarantees from the National Bank of Yugoslavia have been received, but the Economic Bank has yet to issue a letter of credit for \$629,000. Part

of the custom beans on order are already in the Yugoslav port, but the trading partner does not want to unload the remainder until he is paid. This could result in a short standstill in the production of chocolate, wafers, desserts, candies and cookies. "Kras" recently corrected prices for the seventh time this year. Although the plan was to increase prices by a total of 43 percent this year, it was necessary to double them. Admittedly, that is still lower than the level of inflation, but it is not good that import prices are forcing them to such price hikes.

In the Socialist Republic of Croatia this year, all the rapeseed was bought up, around 50,000 tons by the Zagreb Oil Works alone. Unfortunately, even though there is no problem with rapeseed compared to wheat—nor, in fact, with sunflowers and soybeans—the price of oil is not even covering raw material costs, which is plunging oil producers into a situation of ever-greater losses. The director of the BOAL [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] "Trade in Goods," Vjenceslav Dukic, explains that 10 out of 16 Yugoslav oil producers currently have a deficit of 27 billion dinars, but that all will be suffering losses through the end of the year. The interest alone charged on a liter of oil is 350 dinars.

New guaranteed prices for sunflower, soybean (405 dinars) and rapeseed (388 dinars) oil have already been introduced, and if prices were formulated today, it would be realistic for a liter of oil to cost 2,500 dinars, and undoubtedly 4,000 dinars by next July. Gambling with the fate of oil producers could also mean a worse harvest next year, since even though prices are advantageous for farmers, fewer and fewer of them will decide to grow these products, since they face major problems with selling them. Within 2 years, we could be back at square one, where we found ourselves 10 years ago, when we started out with rapeseed out of sheer will and hope. Oil remains very inexpensive on the world market, but it is impossible to organize imports. Losses in oil is translated onto the price of margarine and vegetable fat for industry. It is true that these prices are determined freely, but this freedom is very much limited by potential in the confectionery industry, which is unable to withstand any price. In general terms, there will be oil, but the question of what will happen later is a major one.

No Buyers

Nor have the producers of detergents recovered from all their headaches. The prices of raw materials are determined freely and are rising enormously, says the assistant general manager for production at "Labud," Dragotin Simic, and there is no way that the price of detergent can keep up with them. Even if an increase were approved, it would never be enough, and in the meantime raw materials would almost certainly jump again, making it absolutely impossible to prosper. For this reason, only expensive detergent is being produced, since the loss on it is less, and there are no prospects for it being better next year. On one occasion, the chairman of the Municipal Committee for the Economy, Ljubomir

Pesut, said that "Labud" can easily solve its problems, but that the question is what we will gain from that, adding that detergent will be most expensive when there is none of it.

The focus of attention lately has been the winter supply situation. In Zagreb, this has been discussed and deliberated upon for some time; money has been put into it for even longer, but it has turned out that it is not of much interest. Even the secretary of the SIZ [Self-Managed Community of Interest] for the city's supply, Boris Godler, agrees that sales are not going as expected. There is merchandise, supply is good, organization is extraordinary, there are just not enough buyers. The problem is obviously money, because just one side of pork costs 85,000 dinars, which is a lot for some people, even on credit. It has been agreed, Godler says, that prices for winter supplies will be corrected in the direction of market prices on 15 November. The assistant manager of "Nama" in Zrinjak, Mr Mira Grbac, contends that the winter supply situation is weaker. It is probable that work organizations are finding a way to contact producers directly, and even winter supplies on three-month's credit are too expensive for many.

It is nice that work organizations, through their trade unions, are looking after their workers, enabling them to generally get cheap meat, but the sanitary and veterinary inspectors are pulling out their hair at the unloading of meat on the streets, shipping under unsanitary conditions and having sides of pork thrown into the back seat of a car. They are right, and work organizations would have to organize differently, but under no circumstances without these services. Contaminated meat is not rare. There were examples of contamination both this year and last, but no one dared react, for fear that this would be interpreted as an attack on concern for workers.

All in all, nothing is certain. The answers are too hypothetical, and that is how it will stay until agreement is reached on what we intend to do with our agriculture. Until then, the supply situation is exclusively a matter of resourcefulness, private connections and indulgence of the producers.

12271

Croatia's Objections to Country's Energy Program Discussed

20000045h Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 87 pp 27-28

[Article by Dragan Nedeljkovic: "Wishes Instead of a Program"]

[Text] The current political and economic discussions, from the constitutional changes and the constant new programs for getting out of the crisis to scandals with provocative contents, seem to have overshadowed the discussion of one of the key documents for the future

development of the country—the Program for the Development of the SFRY Energy Industry Until 2000 With a Concept for Development Until 2020. At the end of the summer, the program drafted for the development of the energy industry was forwarded to the SFRY Assembly, as well as the assemblies of the republics and provinces, for discussion and adoption, but so far very little has been heard or learned about its fate. An exception is the recent news from Zagreb that the Croatian Assembly feels that the proposed program "cannot be the basis for coordination and that it should be returned to the proposer for modification on the basis of the critical comments from all the socialist republics and autonomous provinces."

This diplomatically mild wording conceals a rejection by plebiscite of the proposed program: literally all of the organizations and institutions in Croatia, from the SIZs [self-managing interest communities], scientific councils, electrical industry, and oil and gas industry, to the Republic Presidency, Executive Council, and Assembly, are strongly opposed to the proposed solutions (more precisely, they claim that solutions to energy problems do not exist in that document). The extent and nature of the criticism vary, but the conclusion amounts to the same everywhere. The harshest are the members of the program council of Croatia's "Energy" scientific SIZ. The 9 doctors and professors on that council signed a special letter sent to the president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and provinces (it was also sent to the president of the Federal Executive Council, the Presidency of Yugoslavia, and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee). It is brief and deserves to be quoted.

"Driven by their professional conscience," the experts say, "they have examined the proposed program and note the following:

a) that the concept behind the drafting of that program is basically wrong and that it does not provide an expert and well-founded answer to the questions that should be answered by a program for the development of the energy industry, on which the development of the economy and the country as a whole depends;

b) that the figures on which the program is based are full of inconsistencies, superficialities, and inaccuracies;

c) that the text of the program cannot serve as the basis for the development of the energy industry, and so the editing or rewording of only some parts of it is not possible;

d) that the adoption of such a program as a state document, even if it is edited, would disgrace all of the experts in the country;

e) that its adoption would not be a credit to the state bodies that prepared it, and especially not to those who might possibly adopt it;

f) that by implementing a program thus conceived Yugoslavia would very quickly enter an energy crisis that would prevent emergence from the present economic difficulties and retard the overall development of our country.

"Because of all this, the program council of "Energy" proposes: a) that all of the republic and provincial assemblies, as well as the SFRY Assembly, not accept this program; b) that all of the assemblies demand that a new program for the development of the Yugoslav energy industry be prepared as soon as possible; c) that all of the assemblies demand that the new program be drafted by a group of the country's most competent experts in this field, with the assistance of federal and republic bodies, so that a high-quality document would be drafted, on the basis of which competent decisions could be made in such an important sector as the SFRY's energy industry."

Without harsh words, the Croatian Assembly accepted the experts' opinion, while the assemblies of the other republics and provinces have yet to take a stand.

Alarming Situation of Croatia

If one takes into account the fact that the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry and the Federal Planning Institute worked for more than a year on the program for the development of the energy industry, and that the Federal Executive Council and, indirectly, the Presidency of Yugoslavia approved that document before it was sent to the republics and provinces, the question that arises is what is meant by this blunt rejection by Croatia. The first thing—the demand for the drafting of a new program with the participation of experts (the Croatian Executive Council is specifically offering the Institute for the Electrical Industry, INA-Projekt, and the Economic Institute) inevitably delays and postpones the adoption of the program. The general view is that the program is already late, which is less of a problem than the delays in building new installations and the already definite shortages of energy for several years. No less significant are the orientations: the program offered is based on the maximum utilization of domestic energy resources and imports only of the essential amounts of energy, strict conservation and increased efficiency, and the postponement of nuclear power plants until the next century. The Croatians, however, are saying that the orientations are not in dispute, but...

At this time Croatia is apparently the most interested in the quiet adoption of a program. In the development of the electrical industry, "the situation is already alarming," both for medium-term and long-term development. If one looks in a little more detail at what the Croatians are criticizing in the proposed document on the development of the energy industry, it all mostly seems to amount to the electrical industry. Admittedly, there are theoretical and specific objections concerning other forms of energy, but the emphasis is on the

electrical industry and the threat to the republic because of the shortage of electricity, which is perceived as a loss of social product because of reductions in consumption. The oilmen, for example, say that the 1.4 billion dinars planned for their investments is insufficient, because they have programs that require almost 10 billion. We are renouncing qualitative development in the consumption of natural gas, because instead of the raw material gas burning is planned for many industries. A particular unstated public criticism is that gasification is being planned in republics and provinces that have more energy resources than those where the conditions for energy development do not exist.

A general criticism is that the proposed energy program does not provide for the development of the country in accordance with the adopted Social Plan, and that the available amounts of energy are not sufficient for the growth of the social product. Advocating conservation and more efficient consumption, the Croatsians are emphasizing that this process is not determined by one program, even the best, but rather by the structure of the economy and the technical-technological level of the consumers. Another general criticism is that reliance upon one's own energy resources can mean autarky in development and contradiction of the general commitment to openness to the world and the ability to compete in foreign markets. Without questioning the need to utilize one's own energy resources, the Croatsians are urging that they be compared, primarily in terms of economic parameters, with imported forms of energy, although the criticisms also pertain to the status, security of supply, and in general the legal aspect of any joint installations on domestic soil.

Where To Build Electric Power Plants

The Croatian Social Plan for the 1986-1990 Period provided for building 1,520 MW of new electric power plants, with an average annual production of 8.3 billion kW. The plan also included so-called continuity power plants, i.e., installations that should be built in order to provide energy until 1995 (the periods for the construction of electric power plants are longer than the usual 5-year planning period). At home, i.e., in Croatia, three hydroelectric power plants and three storage facilities were to be built in order to increase production at the already constructed "Plomin II" thermoelectric power plant. All together, they will cover about half of the requirements. The other half, more precisely 700 MW of installed capacity with over 4 billion kW produced annually, remains undefined. The installations have not been named, because it was estimated that the talks on joint construction in Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia would specify what would be built and when.

It is known that the construction of Plomin II is late and is causing great arguments, the construction of the Caprazlike storage facility is problematical, because the future lake will be located on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and problems have arisen regarding this,

and the 700 MW from other regions are still uncertain. Numerous talks about joint investment have only wasted time, and no agreement has been reached. Because of all of this, a serious energy shortage is being threatened.

The "unresolved problems" of the joint construction of electric power plants are not unique to Croatia, nor are they derived from any special demands from Croatia's electrical industry or any other electrical industries; they are primarily political, built into the constitution, the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor], and other systemic legislation, while all the current discussions, proposed changes, and announced solutions only note them, without resolving them. They amount to several key obstacles to the development of the energy industry. From the Croatian standpoint, they are as follows: the possibility of using the country's energy sources and their availability to all interested participants; the realistic valuation of energy sources; unified development planning; an economically rational source of new energy installations; the construction of joint installations, and joint storage facilities; the level of energy prices; the conditions for the repayment of pooled funds; real interest rates and amortization; the use of power and energy; forms of organization during the phase of the joint construction of installations, and other issues.

For 10 years, according to the Croatian electrical industry, talks have been going on about the joint construction of electric power plants, two medium-term plans have passed, and not one agreement has been reached on this. The problems occurring in the electrical industry are not different from those of other branches of the economy, but are only powerful manifestations of the overall problems and insularity of the Yugoslav markets; the electrical industry, however, is being forced to build electric power plants, which is not the case with other types of installations.

If a journalist is on good terms with experts, and if he has their confidence, he can learn more than these general observations. Specifically, the Croatian electrical industry calculated that the demands of the "owners of the resources" meant investing in two or three electric power plants in order to use one, i.e., investments two or three times higher than for an electric power plant using imported coal, for example. Consequently, there have been more and more frequent indications of Croatia's building electric power plants using imported coal. The same category includes the misunderstandings over nuclear power plants—Croatia is against their rejection, moratoriums, and renunciation, and is advocating a realistic economic competition with domestic energy sources. If electricity from a nuclear power plant is cheaper and safer, and allegedly pollutes the environment less (not planning on having it built in one's "own" area), no programs, laws, or appeals should prevent the construction of nuclear power plants. Experts, surveys, and calculations should determine this, it is felt.

Losses in Chemical Fertilizer Industry Reported
28000045a Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 87 p 19

[Article by Lj. Z.: "Fertilizer Industry: In the Jaws of Losses"]

[Text] The four price increases for fertilizer this year were not enough to overcome the difference between the (higher) cost price and the retail price of this commodity; the production of fertilizer is growing, and sales—according to the producers themselves—are "in accordance with the demands of the market," and exports are growing, but these increases are modest in the face of the growth of losses: last year they reached 53.2 billion dinars, and were exceeded during the first half of this year (64.2 billion), with very good prospects that this year will end with 124 billion dinars in losses.

Losses are neither a rarity nor a surprise, but their growth—from 1.67 billion at the beginning of the decade to the expected 124 billion this year—is significant, to say the least.

The 11 domestic factories can produce about 5 million tons of fertilizer, which is enough to take care of domestic agriculture, make greater consumption possible, and still have a decent amount of fertilizer left over for exports.

Yugoslav agriculture is very economical with respect to artificial fertilizer: about 120 kilograms of so-called active material is used for one hectare; in nations that have similar agricultural land and a similar climate, the consumption of fertilizer is several times higher than in Yugoslavia, while the European average is 230 kilograms per hectare.

In the domestic industry, 85 percent of the capacity is utilized, which can be considered satisfactory. Four fifths of the raw materials needed for this production, however, are imported, and must be imported, simply because we do not have them, and because finding substitutes for them is out of the question for the foreseeable future.

The fertilizer industry needs about \$170 million annually to purchase raw materials, semi-finished products, and spare parts, and to buy the tanks in which the raw materials are prepared. The factories export about \$100 million worth of fertilizer to the convertible market, which means that the exports cover about 70 percent of the imports. Fertilizer producers, however, are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain foreign exchange, and so the latest shipments of raw materials arrived mostly thanks to good relations with the suppliers, partly to barter arrangements, and to some extent on credit, but an end to this is in sight: foreign suppliers are refraining from new shipments, withdrawing their tanks, and demanding that the previous debts be settled.

Unfortunately, these are not the only debts of the fertilizer industry: its total foreign exchange debt is over \$500 million, with fixed assets worth \$350 million and \$80 million in working capital; the credit from last year and this year for current production is about \$70 million. The fertilizer factories also have their own debtors, and consequently some unpaid claims make the picture even more gloomy.

With the combined shortage of foreign exchange and dinars, the fertilizer producers are suddenly turning to the commercial banks, which are giving them short-term credits. Since short terms go by quickly, and the fertilizer industry is in bad shape, it is not repaying its credits on time (and is therefore being charged interest on arrears, which has been above 128 percent; last year the fertilizer producers spent 62 billion dinars on interest).

Prices by State Measure

This year the state responded four times to their constant cry for price increases: the price of fertilizer jumped in February by 17 percent, in May by 16.5 percent, in July by 20 percent, and in August by 19 percent. The price increases have always been more modest than those sought by the producers: the federal administration has made an effort at least to hamper raging inflation.

The producers were therefore not helped by the calculation that showed with striking clarity how much the cost price was higher than the retail price of fertilizer (about 30 percent). They had no choice but to warn that they would reduce or halt production, which would cut agricultural yields in half and generally cause cycles after cycles of problems; occasionally they also demand the free establishment of fertilizer prices, although they cannot be certain how much impoverished agriculture will rush to purchase fertilizer (which is expensive for it even at state prices).

Last summer the fertilizer producers proposed subsidies for the prices of gas and electricity (that they be 30 percent lower); they recall that in countries with a market economy the price of gas for industry is only a third of the price for consumers.

It cannot be said of the fertilizer producers that they have been completely abandoned; they are just convinced that they are not sufficiently protected. There is a refund (30 percent), but it should be higher, along with the rediscount, the extent of the utilization of exchange rate differences should be higher, etc. Tome Kuzmanovski (of the Federal Committee for Agriculture) said in the Executive Committee of the Chamber that the impression was being given that "this branch supplied exclusively agriculture and that only agriculture should deal with this."

In the first half of this year, the average personal income in agriculture was 107,902 dinars, which clearly shows how much the fertilizer industry's partner is "well off."

The average wage in agrochemistry is 143,000 dinars. This is enough of an illustration, but also enough of a reason why a considerable number of experts are already leaving the fertilizer industry.

Almost no one is thinking about renovating worn-out facilities—and there are quite a few of them in the fertilizer industry. For this reason as well, production will be "spontaneously" reduced, and one can surely expect the reestablishment of an equilibrium (of reduced supply) with a demand that is in any case sagging.

It is difficult to say whether the fertilizer producers are at a dead end or in a labyrinth. The only thing that is clear is that there is no simple way out. The possibility of the complete liberalization of fertilizer prices seems attractive, but no one is certain any more that in the sphere of prices—where the position of fertilizer producers has been undermined for years—this tangled web of interest, losses, debts, etc., can be unraveled in that same sphere. Perhaps the liberalization of prices would confront them with new problems: how to keep their inventories and how to get rid of them.

9909

Continuing Resistance to Market Mechanisms Traced

28000055 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 87 pp 7-8

[Article by Zoran Jelacic: "Market, Market—Among Other Things"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Central Committee of the LCY is not withdrawing its support of a market transformation of our economy, but it is not abandoning its own blockade of such changes either.

Once again, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has decided, at its meeting at the beginning of this week, to support a market orientation as the foundation for transforming our economic system. The difference with respect to the numerous previous affirmations of support for this course can be found only in the direction being taken, formally speaking, outside of the leading party forum.

Specifically, the material indications of the crisis are greater than ever, and the anti-market moves by the federal government confirm the assessment expressed several months ago by France Popit. To paraphrase, the head of the Slovenian state at that time dismissed the rumor that he wanted the federal government to resign; however, he added that there could be more assurances coming from the buildings in Novi Belgrade that economic policy is moving in the direction of a market economy, but that there was in fact talk of an increasing amount of administration.

Popit does not deserve to be remembered here because of economic circumstances and economic policy in Slovenia, insofar as it is clear to businessmen even there that systemic errors cannot be corrected through tiny perquisites, but rather because the course of events has proven him right. It is for this reason that the question of what the leadership of this country wants is no longer being asked; it is rather a question of whether the leadership, even if it wants prosperity, or even if it truly wants what it officially says, has the prerequisites to accomplish that.

Underground political forces are not spreading the idea that workers are refusing to work. This was said at the plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY, and it cannot be interpreted as anything other than passing the point beyond which not even the peons will assent to the prevailing level of self-preservation, as some political economists have formulated it, whereby the leadership survives by guaranteeing workers a minimum of economic and social security—even for not working. After all, if this is the year of Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, then it is worth remembering those lines about neither the "Turkish gluttons" nor village headmen being ready for a fight, only the poor peons.

Tasks of the Party

This is how it looks in the interpretation of editorial writers at this week's plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY. It would be enough to make this society get serious if one were to stop at one sentence by Dusan Krebic, the one in which he states that everyone who does not pay his obligations is usurping the property of others and endangering self-management. It is true that Krebic says this in the context of an assessment of the current monetary system, but there is no real reason not to apply this appraisal to the overall existing system. Stated directly, if the League of Communists would move openly and consistently towards the realization of a policy that would not protect the debtors, a policy that exists in our country on a permanent basis, but rather would turn to creditors such as those who are by nature successfully managing social property, then this would truly represent the dawning of better days for this society.

Specifically, a society in which it is possible to refuse to fulfill obligations with impunity cannot be counted among those with a place in history. In this context, the preliminary question is whether this League of Communists, i.e., its leadership, will publicly state and acknowledge that it once took the side of debtors by destroying elementary legal relationships, i.e., obligations.

A similar mentality prevails with respect to obligations towards foreign creditors, although there is no basis for any assurance that the dominant relationship at home will be extended to foreign creditors as well. It is precisely for this reason that it is good to praise the party position that a debtor cannot be a person of authority,

but also to correct the general position of the president of the federal party presidency that this country will accept the rescheduling of its debts to foreign creditors as long as this does not encroach on its internal affairs.

Stated directly, it would be good to one time say publicly and openly how it is that foreign creditors want to change Yugoslav internal affairs, aside from that which the Yugoslav public itself (especially the leadership of the League of Communists) proclaimed in adopting the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. If there were not disputes within the ruling circles of the party and state precisely about implementing that which was presented to the public as being accepted and nonproblematic, the economic and political system would have been reformed several years ago already. More precisely, after the last party congress, at which the basic changes in the economic and political system were adopted.

What later resulted from the so-called Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System was just proof that the political leadership of this country did not want or desire the reforms implied by the creation of the economic factors and responsible political government.

It is hoped that the reader will not become angry at having to read an unusually long quote from a speech by Dusan Ckrebic:

"It is precisely because of this that it is necessary that we leave the declarative designation for the market. The Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization pointed out the essential character of the market in our country, and the 13th Congress of the LCY provided a further ideopolitical indication of this orientation. Thus, the market that assumes a social direction, that limits its elemental activities, that can provide for the development of socialist self-management. The planned direction of free market activities must start with concrete material relations in the economy, real possibilities for harmonizing supply and demand on the market and its gradual development. This type of active market activity implies a market sanction that does not currently exist, because it disappeared entirely in the high level of inflation. Market activity must be based on competitiveness, and not on a slight increase in prices.

"Preaching does not anoint the incompetent, but does hinder the competent. In addition, it is necessary for financial discipline to grow strong as a defense of economic factors in commodity-monetary relations. It has been forgotten that lack of financial discipline certainly destroys commodity-monetary relations, erases the boundary between successful and unsuccessful organizations of associated labor, causes uneconomical use of working capital and leads to financial chaos. Liquidity must be protected financially through sound economic decisions for economic factors, and not through a monetary-credit policy like the one we have now. The essential principle of our monetary system has been forgotten,

the one that states that whoever does not pay his obligations is usurping the property of others and endangering self-management. Market behavior of economic factors can be affirmed only through the introduction of a stable domestic currency, an economically sound credit situation and financial discipline. It could be said that the Draft Resolution on Economic Policy for Next Year does not adequately take into account the questions noted, says much in the current way of speaking, and is lacking in cogent language."

Dilemma

One should again ask whether the position from the introductory speech to the effect that the reign of debtors continues to be impermissible is enough for a fundamental reform of the existing system. However, it is not generally known that the League of Communists, in the form of the Central Committee and its executive organ, thinks along the same lines.

A person does not have to search far to find the meaning of the elucidations of individual discussants—be it talk about those who do not acknowledge the complete market (and accuse them of disclosing deals in bills of exchange without security even under the current conditions), or about advocacy of market conditions from which the president of the federal government is not shying away, nor is even the leader of the government planning department, even though he is one of the most passionate champions of the contractual economy (who cannot accept as anything but a fact that a verbal commitment to the market economy is the most politically safe position, but also the most responsible one).

There is something else that is important. If the League of Communists, in the form of its leading forum between two congresses, does not have a more serious concept than what it is offering in part of the resolutions adopted to create a better foreign exchange system, then it is clear that this same leadership will continue to lack a unified position concerning whether it wants to construct this state as a unified one or as a chance coincidence of circumstances that will serve a potential regrouping for everyone. On a state level, of course.

It is right for everyone to plan a better future for himself, but it is obvious that the ones with better prospects of doing so are those who are closer to world developments in the convertibility of money, as the ultimate expression of the convertible supply of goods. In other words, no one has a guaranteed position in this business reallocation.

In the draft resolutions at the party plenum, there are enough contradictions, illogicalities and usual buzz words—so that all of it can be quickly forgotten, or recorded as yet another party plenum "for the sake of appearances." If anyone thinks that it is politically wise to support measures by the federal government in a half-hearted way, and thus in a way that leaves up a

window for criticism when it turns out after 6 months that this was meaningless, then that person is mistaken if he thinks that his own authority has not been pawned off in the bargain—at least with measures where he is the one who must make decisions on it on a daily basis. Mikulic experienced this. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that the same wave will not reach the political leadership as well.

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Construction of New Adriatic Superhighway Begins

28000086 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
21 Feb 88 p 7

[Article by Drzen Jambrovic]

[Text] The Adriatic Superhighway is already under construction! However absurd that assertion might sound at a time when one hears the vitriolic criticism, especially from Dalmatia, that the new Adriatic Superhighway route is not to be found in the federal Law on Main Highways of Interest to the Entire Country, it is still true. The Rijeka bypass, which has been under construction for years, and its central portion from Orehovica to Diracje, 8.3 km of limited-access highway which is supposed to be open to traffic by the beginning of July, are an integral part of the future Adriatic Superhighway. And the tunnel through Ucka Mountain with access roads already used by thousands of vehicles is on the route of the new Adriatic Superhighway.

Following this journalistically constructed "discovery" of the construction and following the information recently published on the talks of Ante Markovic, chairman of the Presidency of SR Croatia, in West Germany about possibilities for participation of West German firms in financing construction of the Adriatic Superhighway (we should not expect this to be realized overnight) there is good reason to ask the origin of so many objections and charges concerning the main highway which supposedly had been "deleted" from the draft of a law.

It needs to be said at once that all the dust was raised after the first reports on the contents of the Draft of the Law on Financing Construction of the Brotherhood and Unity Highway and Construction and Reconstruction of Highways of Interest to the Entire Country. That bill referred to the financing (Article 2) of unbuilt sections of the Brotherhood and Unity Highway extending "638 km in full superhighway profile and 54.2 km with half the profile of a superhighway," and then (Article 3) about construction of highways under the Osimo Accord over a length of 131 km (Vrtojba—Razdrto, Fernetici—Razdrto, and Hrpelje—Kozine—Rijeka), and (Article 4) about construction and reconstruction of major highways over a total length of 2,857 km, covering the Adriatic Highway over a length of 1,426 km on the routes Kopar—Pula—Rijeka—Bar, Titograd—Skopje,

and the highways Bosanski Samac—Zenica—Kardeljjevo, Sentilj—Maribor—Zagreb—Karlovac—Rijeka, Subotica—Novi Sad—Belgrade, Belgrade—Titovo Uzice—Bijelo Polje, Nis—Dimitrovgrad, and Nis—Pristina. Tempers were aroused in Dalmatia and there was a virtual avalanche of criticism and accusations, since it did not include the Adriatic Superhighway, but envisaged only "reconstruction of the Adriatic Highway," and because there is no important connection between Zagreb and Split. Stress is put on the importance of the Adriatic Sea, on the importance of tourism to the country's overall development, to the inflow of foreign exchange, to the high density of traffic, especially in the summer months, on the present highway, and so on.

The Key Question

The arrows of the accusations were directed against the Republic Committee for Maritime Shipping, Transportation, and Communications, since, in the opinion of some, the draft of the law did not include what "the committee had proposed" (it is curious that the objections addressed to the Federal Executive Council which approved the draft of the law and sent it to the SFRY Assembly and to the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications which prepared it, were not so harsh). In the Republic Committee for Maritime Shipping, Transportation, and Communications those in positions of responsibility say that from the beginning, from the first conversations about a joint program for construction and reconstruction of main highways of interest to the entire country, they demanded and proposed that the trans-Yugoslav Brotherhood and Unity Superhighway should be linked to the Adriatic Highway by vertical connections on the following routes: the Yugoslav-Hungarian border—Zagreb—Rijeka, the Yugoslav-Austrian border (Sentilj)—Zagreb—Split, the Yugoslav-Hungarian border—Osijek—Bosanski Samac—Sarajevo—Kardeljjevo, and the Yugoslav-Hungarian border—Subotica—Belgrade—Nis—Pristina—Adriatic Superhighway. They also asked for the Istrian highways (referred to as the Istrian Y) be included in the program on the route of the Adriatic Highway, since they were not included either.

The portion out of all these demands that was included can be seen from the draft law; of the two routes for connecting the Brotherhood and Unity Superhighway to the Adriatic Highway (Sentilj—Zagreb—Split and Letenje—Varazdin—Zagreb—Rijeka), one was adopted in such a way that the northern portion was taken from one route (Sentilj—Zagreb) and the southern portion from the other (Zagreb—Rijeka).

Why did they not insist that the draft law explicitly refer to the new Adriatic Superhighway? It seems that this is the key question in many of the objections addressed to the drafters of the law who are defining Yugoslavia's long-range highway policy. Anyone who carefully reads the draft of the law will notice that in addition to the

Brotherhood and Unity Superhighway (we called it a superhighway even when it wasn't), which explicitly refers to a full superhighway profile, there is no mention of the profile that would be built in the case of any other highway route. This is not stated even in the case of the Osimo Highway, although the plans are being drawn up to build a superhighway, and this is not stated for any other major highway, and thus was not stated for the Adriatic Highway either. It seems that we should also bear in mind here Article 14 of the draft law which says that the program for highway construction under the Osimo Accord and for construction and reconstruction of main highways will be adopted on the basis of uniform transportation-economic criteria that would include the function of the road in transportation and development, the position of the highway route in the highway network of Yugoslavia and Europe, the economic benefit in vehicle operation, the condition of the highway route, the level of its utilization, international obligations as to construction of a highway structure, and the importance of the highway routes from the standpoint of defense and strategy. That same article says that appraisal of the transportation-economic criteria will establish the order in which the highways will be built or will undergo reconstruction, the work schedule, the technical and transportation elements of the road (overall dimensions), the necessary resources, and the financial package.

The Secret of the Second Roadway

If this article of the law is translated into ordinary language, it means that the program for construction and reconstruction of main highways (the self-managed communities of interest, as the investors, must submit it to the Federal Executive Council for adoption by the end of 1988) will state what will be built as a superhighway and when, what will be built as a semisuperhighway, as a fast highway, and what will only undergo reconstruction on the present route. There is no doubt that because of its importance to transportation and economic importance the Adriatic Highway should be denoted in that program as a superhighway, and that on the new route. When approximately a year ago Branko Mikulic, chairman of the FEC, said that along with joint construction of the Brotherhood and Unity Superhighway the "second roadway of the Adriatic Highway" would also be built, he attributed extreme importance to that highway, the kind of importance it in fact deserves, but he certainly did not literally think that the second roadway would be built alongside the present one, since at many points that would hardly be acceptable, but that a new Adriatic Superhighway should be built. That is the real solution.

Now let us go back to the beginning—the Adriatic Highway as it is now and the Adriatic Superhighway in the future. The Adriatic Highway, which actually begins at Trieste and goes along the coast of Istria, the Croatian coast, Dalmatia, and the Montenegrin coast, and then via Titograd and Pristina to Skopje, with its length of 1,426 km, is the longest road in Yugoslavia. It links up at

Trieste to the European highway system, and at Skopje it joins the Brotherhood and Unity Superhighway and the highway network of Greece, and thus it is a second longitudinal route linking western Europe to southeastern Europe, passing through the Adriatic seaports, through those areas of our coast which are valuable to the tourist industry. The very fact that it is in the category of E-highways (E-751, E-65, E-80) and in our own country (M-2) as Main Highway No 2, quite clearly emphasizes its importance. Its length of 822 km in Croatia represents 60 percent of the entire route from Trieste to Skopje and all of 86 percent of its coastal portion. Traffic has grown appreciably on the Adriatic Highway. In 1986 average annual traffic over lengthy stretches was between 6,500 and 8,700 vehicles per day, and in the summer (tourist) season it averaged between 13,500 and 15,000 vehicles per day. This is the kind of traffic which provides the experts a real basis for planning construction of a superhighway (professional appraisals indicate that superhighways should be built when an average annual traffic of 12,000 vehicles per day is anticipated).

Routes and Corridors

The route of the Adriatic Highway in Istria has been completely defined. From the bridge at Dragonja to Pula, over a length of 86 km, it passes through the western area of Istria and is envisaged in the first phase as a fast highway, and then later as a divided fast highway. The section of the connection through Limska Draga is to begin this year. The second branch of the "Istrian Y" runs from Kanfanar through Cerovlje, and then from Cerovlje to Lupoglav (this section is under construction), and then via the portion of the fast highway and Ucka tunnel already completed to Matulj.

The land-use and transportation documentation has been prepared for the four-lane Trieste—Rijeka superhighway, and a route has been defined in the 36-km-long section from Rupa on the border with SR Slovenia (from Rupa to Kozina and the Italian border another 29 km are needed), and then to Rijeka (Vitosevo), including the Rijeka bypass which is under construction.

From Rijeka (Vitosevo) to Dubrovnik and the Montenegrin border a four-lane superhighway has been envisaged over a total length of 543 km on which the speed of travel would be between 100 and 120 km/hr. That entire route has been divided into four characteristic sections—from Rijeka to Zadar (205 km), from Zadar to Split (118 km), from Split to Metkovic (118 km), and from Metkovic to Dubrovnik and the Montenegrin border (102 km).

From the Vitosevo junction above Bakar the route runs higher than the present Adriatic Highway to Bakarac and then it enters the Vinodol Valley all the way to Novi, and then it climbs toward Senjska Draga and enters the Lika region from the west side of Velebit and Senjsko Bilo, passing west of Otocac (about 6 km) and Gospić (4 km), south of Lovinac, and from Sv. Roko it climbs toward

Velebit and passes under Mali Alan through a tunnel 5.6 km long. When it comes out of the tunnel the route drops toward Novsko Zdrilo (Maslenica), to the new bridge (alongside the existing one), skirts Novigradsko More and "goes" toward Ravni Kotari, and then joins the Obravac—Zadar highway west of the airport. In addition to the corridor through Lika, consideration is also being given to an alternative corridor on the coast side of Velebit.

From the Zadar airport the route of the superhighway goes toward Benkovac, in the Krsevi area it reaches the Krka River south of Skradin, then runs north of the hill Trtar, and then close to Perkovic and north of Kozjak it passes between Klis and Dugopolje.

Commercial Interest

On the leg to Metkovic the route of the superhighway goes through Zagorsko Poljice, crosses the Cetina at Sestanovac, and then north of Biokovo through the valley of the Rascana in the direction of Vrgorac. Then it passes along the southern edge of the Jezero Valley and north of the hill Babina Gomila and then debouches to the Neretva at Kula Novinska, about 6 km southwest of Metkovic. (Here again an alternative on the coast side is under consideration along with the corridor behind Mosor and Biokovo.)

After crossing the valley of the Neretva the route follows the old Metkovic—Dubrovnik highway to Majkovo and then parallel to the shore (about 3 km from the coast) it continues and skirts the source of the Dubrovacka River, follows the route of the narrow-gauge railroad to

Konoval and along its northern edge near the settlement Orahovo reaches the border with Montenegro. (In addition to the corridor between Opuzen and Metkovic there is another, between Metkovic and Gabela, that is also in "play.")

According to the first assessments, the entire undertaking to build the Adriatic Superhighway would cost about \$3.3 billion, and this, converted to dinars, yields a dizzying sum. That is why only construction in stages comes into consideration, in sections that will first return the money invested, and then only if foreign capital is used. It now appears that there is a commercial interest of foreign firms in investing in the Adriatic Superhighway, but conditions must be created in the country for various models of the use of foreign capital (concessions and joint ventures). Ante Markovic, chairman of the Presidency of SR Croatia, during a working and unofficial visit to West Germany, had talks in economic and banking circles about these possibilities. The commercial interest of the foreign partners is obvious and preparation should be made for it to be carried out. But there should be no illusion that this can be achieved in a short time. This is a large undertaking both in terms of the financing and also the construction.

If at the outset we said that the Adriatic Superhighway was already being built, if only in a small section, then an effort should be made for its construction to gradually be completed through joint efforts.

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